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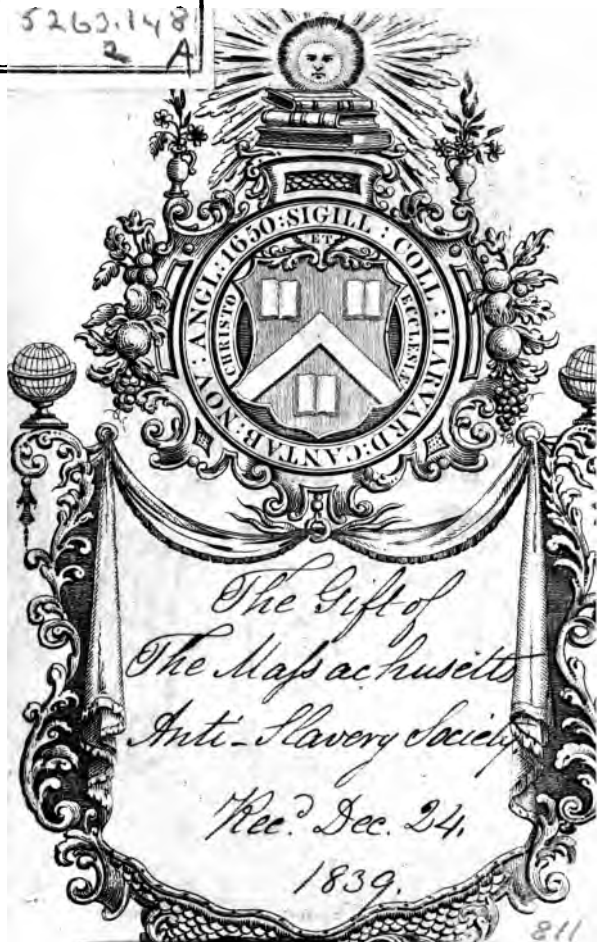
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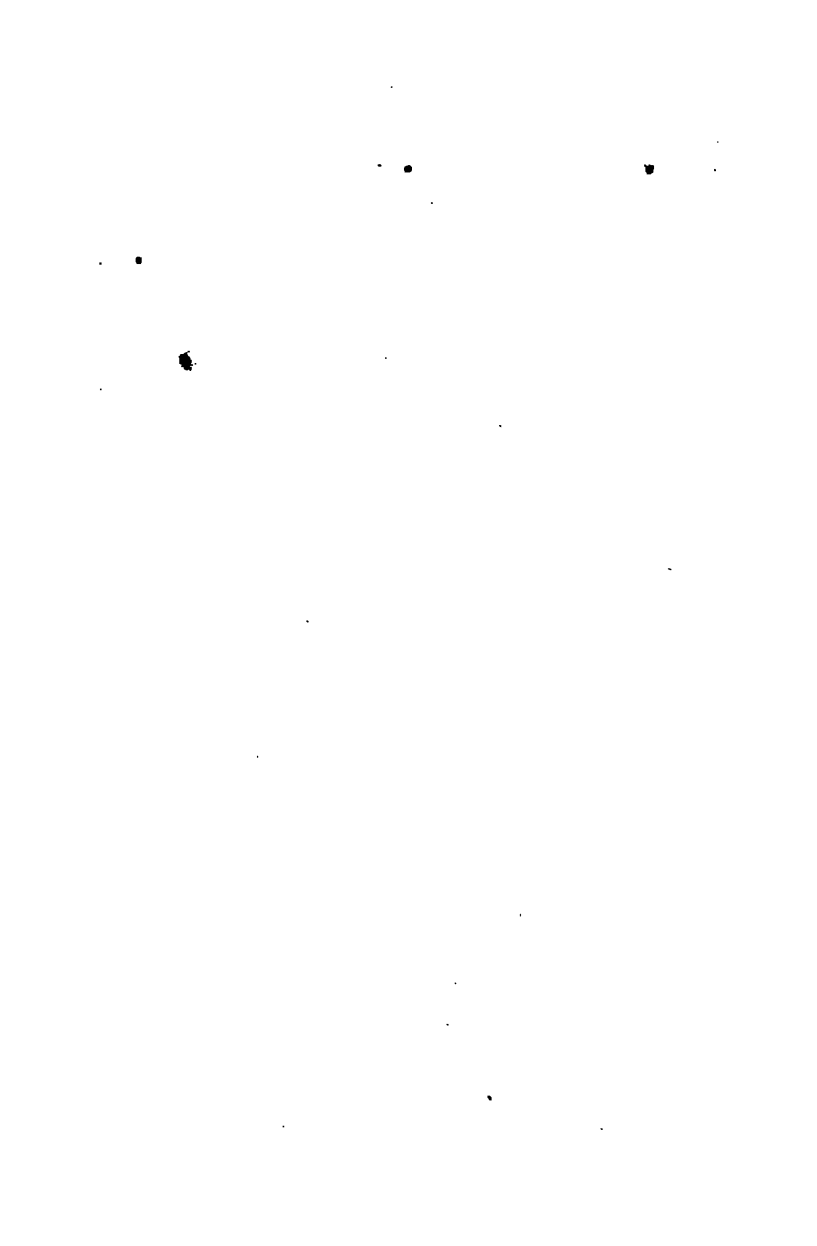
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ANTI SLAVERY

MANUAL,

CONTAINING A COLLECTION OF

FACTS AND ARGUMENTS

ON

AMERICAN SLAVERY.

BY REV. LA ROY SUNDERLAND.

Second Edition—Improved.

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P R E F A C E .

IN whatever points of view we look at the question of American Slavery, it assumes an aspect of the greatest importance. If it merely affected the temporal interests of the enslaved, or the present peace and safety of the enslavers, it would present claims upon the attention of this entire nation, which no well informed politician, no true patriot, could find it possible to pass by without the most serious and candid examination.

But this momentous question reaches beyond the grave ; it involves consequences as real as the unending displeasure of the offended Deity, or the bliss of everlasting life. How, then, can the faithful Watchman upon the walls of Zion, deny to this subject that consideration which its awful importance demands ? How can it be consistent for professing Christians to seek for a knowledge of the condition of the heathen, in foreign lands, when they may know, and should know, that a nation of heathen, without the Bible, and, generally, without the means of grace, are here—in their very midst ?

The design of this book is to give a succinct view of the question of American Slavery, with which it concerns every man, woman, and child, in this Christian Republic, to be familiarly acquainted. In selecting such facts as it was deemed proper to present on this subject,

the author found it necessary to abridge a large mass of matter, which he had originally prepared for this work.

Hence, the reader will find here, that number of facts only, which is barely sufficient to give a connected view of the question under notice, and by no means all that might be presented upon it.

The author hopes this little book may not prove an unacceptable *vade mecum*, to all the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, and especially to Anti-Slavery Agents, and others who may wish to plead the cause of God's suffering poor.

"Facts are stubborn things." Those here offered for the notice of the reader, will speak for themselves. If the arguments in the following pages are deemed inconclusive, it remains for our opponents to confute them.

New-York, March 27, 1837.

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ANTI-SLAVERY MANUAL.

CHAPTER I.

AMERICAN SLAVERY.

By American Slavery is meant the condition of those Americans who are claimed, held and treated, in these United States, as property.

A slave is one who is in the power of a master to whom he belongs. The master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry, and his labor ; he can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire any thing, but what must belong to his master.—*Louisiana Code.*

The same code, speaking of the legal nature of slave property, says :—

Slaves, though movable by their nature, are considered immovable by the operation of law.

“Goods they are,” says the civil code, “and goods they shall be esteemed.”—*Taylor’s Elements*, p. 429.

Slaves shall be deemed, sold, taken, and reputed to be chattels personal in the hands of their owners and possessors, their executors, administrators, and assigns, to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever.—*Laws of South Carolina, Stroud*, p. 22—3.

This dominion of the master is as unlimited as that which is tolerated by the laws of any civilized community in relation to brute animals—to 'quadrupeds,' to use the words of the civil law.—*Stroud*, p. 24.

In case the personal property of a ward shall consist of specific articles, such as *slaves, working beasts, animals of any kind, stock, furniture, plate, books*, and so forth, the Court, if it shall deem it advantageous for the ward, may, at any time, pass an order for the sale thereof.—*Laws of Maryland*, 1798.

Slaves shall always be reputed and considered *real estate*; shall be, as such, subject to be mortgaged, according to the rules prescribed by law, and they shall be seized and sold as *real estate*.—*Laws of Louisiana*, 1806.

Hence it appears, that the distinguishing principle of *American Slavery* is this: *slaves are not to be ranked among rational beings, but they are to be CLAIMED, HELD, and TREATED as things, as articles of property, "to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever."*

Consequently it does not allow to the slave the rights of his own reason and conscience.

It annihilates the family state: prevents the parents from obeying the command of God with regard to their children; it prohibits, or nullifies, the marriage rites, and prevents husbands and wives from obeying the commands of God with regard to each other.

It enjoins, or sanctions, promiscuous intercourse between the sexes, without the rites of marriage.

It holds all the religious privileges of the slave at the mere mercy of his master, whether that master be infidel, papist, or protestant.

It prevents the slave from obeying that command of God, which makes it the duty of all men to "search the Scriptures."

Its direct tendency is to crush the minds of God's intelligent creatures, by forbidding and preventing all schools for "mental instruction."

It withholds the hire of the laborer.

It sanctions and covers the breach of the 8th commandment. It justifies the very same thing which our laws and the laws of nations punish as piracy, if committed on the coast of Africa, or on the high seas. It originates and justifies what the Bible calls "manstealing."

It denies to the slave that protection for his character, his health and life, which is enjoyed by the white man.

Here it must be observed, that what we have stated above, forms no part of what is generally called the "evils of slavery," or, in other words, the "abuses of the system;" but the above facts make up the very system itself, the very thing which we say is a sin against God.

CHAPTER II.

WHO MAY BE HELD AS SLAVES.

A law of South Carolina reads as follows :—

All negroes, *Indians*, (free Indians in amity with this government, and negroes, mulattoes, and mestizos, who are *now* free, excepted,) mulattoes, or mestizos, who are now or shall hereafter be in this province, and all their issue and offspring born, *or to be born*, shall be, and they are hereby declared to be and remain forever hereafter, *absolute slaves*, and shall follow the *condition of the mother*. Act of 1740, 2 *Brevard's Digest*, 229.

Similar laws are now in force in Georgia, Mississippi, Virginia, and Louisiana. In Virginia the enslavement of Indians was authorized by statute from 1679 to 1691. Those whose maternal ancestors

have been reduced to slavery since the latter period, have been decided by the highest courts in that state to be free. So late as 1797, it was decided by the Supreme Court of *New-Jersey*, Chief Justice Kinsey, that Indians might be held as slaves.

They (Indians) have been so long recognized as slaves, in our law, that it would be as great a violation of the rights of property to establish a contrary doctrine at the present day, as it would in the case of the Africans; and as useless to investigate the manner in which they ORIGINALLY lost their freedom. *The State vs. Waggoner*, 1 *Halstead's Reports*, 374 to 376.

Persons emancipated, but not in the prescribed form of law, are liable to be re-enslaved, thus in South Carolina.

In case any slave shall be emancipated or set free, otherwise than according to the act (of 1800) regulating emancipation, it shall be lawful for any person whosoever to seize and convert to his or her own use, and to keep as his or her property the said slave so illegally emancipated or set free. 2 *Brevard's Digest*, 256.

And in Virginia, "If any emancipated slave (infants excepted) shall remain within the state more than twelve months after his or her right to freedom shall have accrued, he or she shall forfeit all such right, and may be apprehended and sold by the overseers of the poor, &c., for the benefit of THE LITERARY FUND!! 1 *Rev. Code*, 436.

Hence it will be perceived, that slavery has no limits. It lays its bloody hands not only on native Americans of African descent, and their children, forever, but on Indians. "Nor is it confined to color," says Mr. Paxton of Virginia. "The best blood in Virginia flows in the veins of the slaves." Many who are now held in slavery, in this nation, are as white as the masters by whom they are oppressed.

CHAPTER III.

NUMBER OF AMERICANS ENSLAVED.

The increase of the slave population in these United States, for the fifty years ending in 1830, has been as follows :

<i>Census of</i>	<i>Slaves.</i>	<i>Total population.</i>
1790	697,697,	3,929,827.
1800	896,849,	5,305,925.
1810	1,191,364,	7,289,314.
1820	1,538,064,	9,638,181.
1830	2,010,436,	12,856,407.

Hence, it appears, that, according to the ratio of increase between 1820, and 1830, there must have been in 1835, not less than 2,245,144 slaves in these United States.

The following table will show the increase of the Whites and Blacks, on this ratio, in Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Arkansas and Florida.

	<i>Whites.</i>	<i>Blacks.</i>
1820	2,831,789,	1,653,727.
1830	3,660,548,	2,187,545.
1840	4,731,870,	2,893,700.
1850	6,116,720,	3,827,800.
1860	7,906,880,	5,063,400.
1870	10,220,900,	6,697,850.
1880	13,213,000,	8,859,950.
1890	17,079,000,	11,720,000.
1900	22,077,500,	15,503,000.

The ratio of increase of the Whites is 29½ per cent; and of the Blacks 32½ per cent. That the blacks should increase faster than the whites, is easily accounted for, from the fact, that the former class are increased by the latter, but the blacks cannot increase the whites.

If we set down the number of slaves now in the United States, at, say, 2,500,000; and add to these, in Brazil, 2,000,000; in the Spanish possessions, 800,000; in the French, 300,000; in the possessions of Portugal, Denmark, Holland, &c., 200,000. We have before us the appalling number of more than FIVE MILLIONS of human beings prostrate beneath the hoof of a relentless tyranny, for no other crime than the color of their skins!

CHAPTER IV.

CIVIL CONDITION OF THE ENSLAVED.

Color a Legal Evidence of Slavery.

A white man may enslave any colored one, and, as between himself and the slave, the law does not require him to establish his claim; the slave is compelled to remain so, if he cannot *prove his freedom*. The South Carolina Act of 1740, permits persons held as slaves and claiming to be free, to petition the judges of the Court of Common Pleas, who if they see cause may allow a *guardian* to bring an action for freedom against the master. The sequel of this law shows how poor is the encouragement for both the suitor and his guardian.

And if judgment shall be given for the plaintiff, a special entry shall be made, declaring that the ward of the plaintiff is free, and the jury shall assess damages which the

plaintiff's ward hath sustained, and the court shall give judgment and award execution against the defendant for such damages, with full cost of suit; *but in case judgment shall be given for the defendant, the said court is hereby fully empowered to inflict SUCH CORPORAL PUNISHMENT, NOT EXTENDING TO LIFE OR LIMB, on the ward of the plaintiff, as they in their discretion shall think fit.* Provided, that in any action or suit to be brought in pursuance of the direction of this act, THE BURDEN OF THE PROOF shall lay upon the plaintiff, and it shall be always presumed that every negro, Indian, mulatto, and mestizo, is a slave, unless the contrary be made to appear, (the Indians in amity with this government excepted, in which case, the burden of the proof shall be on the defendant.) 2 *Brevard's Digest*, 229, 30.

Virginia shows her hostility to the claim for freedom by the following provision of her Revised Code :

For aiding and abetting a slave in a trial for freedom, if the claimant shall fail in his suit, a fine of one hundred dollars is imposed.—1 *Rev. Code*, 482.

The only known exception to this principle of throwing the *burden of proof* upon the person claimed as a slave, is in North Carolina, where persons of mixed blood, by a decision of the court, are presumed to be free.

By this cruel presumption, free persons are constantly taken up on suspicion of being runaways, and after being in prison for some months, are sold to pay their JAIL FEES.

Mental Instruction prohibited.

South Carolina may lay claim to the earliest movement in legislation on this subject. In 1740, while yet a province, she enacted this law :

Whereas the having of slaves taught to write, or suffering them to be employed in writing, may be attended with great inconveniences, Be it enacted, That all and

every person and persons whatsoever, who shall hereafter teach or cause any slave or slaves to be taught to write, or shall use or employ any slave as a scribe in any manner of writing whatsoever hereafter taught to write, every such person or persons shall, for every such offence, forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds current money. 2 *Brevard's Digest*, 243.

Similar in Georgia, *by act of 1770*, except as to the penalty, which is twenty pounds sterling. *Prince's Digest*, 455.

In the same state the following additional restraints were enacted in 1800 :

That assemblies of slaves, free negroes, mulattoes and mestizoes, whether composed of all or any of such description of persons, or of all or any of the same and of a proportion of white persons, met together for the purpose of *mental instruction* in a confined or secret place, &c. &c., is (are) declared to be an unlawful meeting, and magistrates, &c. &c., are hereby required, &c. to enter into such confined places, &c. &c., to break doors, &c. if resisted, and to disperse such slaves, free negroes, &c. &c., and the officers dispersing such unlawful assemblies, *may inflict such corporal punishment, not exceeding twenty lashes, upon such slaves, free negroes, &c. as they may judge necessary, for deterring them from the like unlawful assemblage in future.* *Brevard's Digest*, 254.

And another section of the same act declares

That it shall not be lawful for any number of free negroes, mulattoes or mestizoes, even of slaves in company with white persons, to meet together for the purpose of *mental instruction*, either before the rising of the sun or after the going down of the same. 2 *Brevard's Digest*, 254-5.

Virginia passed the following in 1819 :

That all meetings or assemblages of slaves or free negroes or mulattoes mixing and associating with such slaves at any meeting house, or houses, or any other

place, &c. in the night, or at any school or schools for teaching them reading or writing either in the day or night, under whatsoever pretext, shall be deemed and considered an *unlawful assembly*; and any justice of a county, &c. wherein such assemblage shall be, either from his own knowledge or the information of others, of such unlawful assemblage, &c. may issue his warrant directed to any sworn officer or officers, authorizing him or them to enter the house or houses where such unlawful assemblages, &c. may be, for the purpose of apprehending or dispersing such slaves, and to *inflict corporal punishment on the offender or offenders*, at the discretion of any justice of the peace, not exceeding twenty lashes.—1 Rev. Code, 424-5.

Similar laws exist in most of the slave states, and in all, *mental instruction* is practically discouraged.

Prohibition of Religious Worship.

Many extracts from the laws of the Southern States might be given under this head. The following is but a specimen; it is from the South Carolina Act of 1800:

It shall not be lawful for any number of slaves, free negroes, mulattoes or mestizoes, *even in company* with white persons, to meet together and assemble for the purpose of mental instruction or *religious worship*, either before the rising of the sun or after the going down of the same. And all magistrates, sheriffs, militia officers, &c. &c. are hereby vested with power, &c. for dispersing such assemblies, &c.: 2 Brevard's Digest, 254-5.

Prohibition of Self-defence.

If any slave shall *presume* to strike any white person, such slave, upon trial and conviction before the justice or justices, according to the directions of this act, shall for the *first offence*, suffer such punishment as the said justice or justices shall, in his or their discretion think fit, not extending to life or limb; and for the *second offence*, suffer DEATH.

The law is similar in South Carolina ; in both states the slave is not punished, however, when he strikes, "by the command, and in the defence of the person or property of the owner, &c."

Unqualified submission to the will of the Whites required of the Slaves.

The Code of Louisiana gravely lays down the following principle :

Free people of color ought never to insult or strike white people, nor presume to conceive themselves equal to the whites ; but on the contrary, they ought to *yield to them on every occasion*, and never speak or answer them, but with respect, under the penalty of imprisonment, according to the nature of the offence. 1 *Martin's Digest*, 640-42.

The following are specimens of the laws by which the whole white community have made themselves tyrants over the slaves :

If any slave shall *happen* to be slain for refusing to surrender him or herself, contrary to law, or in unlawful resisting any officer or *other person*, who shall apprehend or endeavor to apprehend, such slave or slaves, &c., such officer or *other person so killing such slave as aforesaid*, making resistance, shall be, and he is by this act, *indemnified* from any prosecution for such killing aforesaid, &c. *Maryland Laws, act of 1751, chap. xiv. § 9.*

And by the negro act of 1740, of South Carolina, it is declared :

If any slave, who shall be out of the house or plantation where such slave shall live, or shall be usually employed, or without some white person in company with such slave, shall *refuse to submit* to undergo the examination of *any white* person, it shall be lawful for such white person to pursue, apprehend and moderately correct such slave ; and if such slave shall assault and strike such white person, such slave may be *lawfully killed* ! 2 *Brevard's Digest*, 231.

Power of the Slaveholder.

Whereas, by another act of the assembly, passed in the year 1774, the killing of a slave, however wanton, cruel and deliberate, is only punishable in the first instance by imprisonment and paying the value thereof to the owner, which distinction of criminality between the murder of a white person and one who is equally a human creature, but merely of a different complexion, is DISGRACEFUL TO HUMANITY, AND DEGRADING IN THE HIGHEST DEGREE TO THE LAWS AND PRINCIPLES OF A FREE, CHRISTIAN AND ENLIGHTENED COUNTRY, Be it enacted, &c. That if any person shall hereafter be guilty of wilfully and maliciously killing a slave, such offender shall, upon the first conviction thereof, be adjudged guilty of murder, and shall suffer the same punishment as if he had killed a free man; *Provided always, this act shall not extend to the person killing a slave outlawed by virtue of any act of assembly of this state, or to any slave in the act of resistance to his lawful owner or master, OR TO ANY SLAVE DYING UNDER MODERATE CORRECTION. Haywood's Manual, 530; and see Laws of Tennessee, act of Oct. 23, 1799, with a like proviso.*

Any person who shall maliciously dismember or deprive a slave of life, shall suffer such punishment as would be inflicted in case the like offence had been committed on a free white person, and on the like proof, except in case of insurrection of such slave, and unless SUCH DEATH SHOULD HAPPEN BY ACCIDENT IN GIVING SUCH SLAVE MODERATE CORRECTION. *Constitution of Georgia, Art. 4, § 12. Prince's Digest, 559.*

Judge Stroud remarks:—

That a proclamation of *outlawry* against a slave is authorized, whenever he runs away from his master, conceals himself in some obscure retreat, and to sustain life, kills a hog, or some animal of the cattle kind!! See *Haywood's Manual, 521; act of 1741, ch. 24, § 45.*

In South Carolina by the Act of 1740 the "wilful murder" of a slave was punished by a fine of

"seven hundred pounds, current money," and inability to hold office, but another description of murder, more likely to occur, was punished as follows:—

If any person shall, on a sudden heat or passion, or by *undue correction*, kill his own slave, or the slave of any other person, he shall forfeit the sum of *three hundred and fifty pounds*, current money. *Brevard's Digest*, 241.

By an act of 1821, the former provision was abolished but the latter was continued, diminishing the price to five hundred dollars, and authorizing an imprisonment of six months. *James' Digest*, 392.

It is the imperative duty of the judges to recognize the full *dominion of the owner over the slave*, except where the exercise of it is forbidden by statute.—*Judge Ruffin, N. Carolina*.

In case any person shall wilfully cut out the tongue, put out the eye, castrate, or *cruelly scald, burn*, or deprive any slave of any limb, or member, or shall inflict *any other cruel punishment, other than by whipping or beating with a horsewhip, cowskin, switch or small stick, or by putting irons on, or confining or imprisoning such slave*, every such person shall, for every such offence, forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds, current money. 2 *Brevard's Digest*, 241.

Louisiana imposes a heavier penalty for *taking off irons* than she does for the "*cruel punishments*," specified above, as appears from this:

If any person or persons, &c. shall cut or break any iron chain or collar, which any master of slaves should have used in order to prevent the running away or escape of any such slave or slaves, such person or persons so offending shall, on conviction, &c. be fined not less than two hundred dollars, nor exceeding one thousand dollars; and suffer imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years, nor less than six months. *Act of Assembly of March 6, 1819—pamphlet, page 64.*

Now, in the same state, the law before quoted from South Carolina is in force, and the penalty is a fine of *not more than five hundred dollars, nor less than two hundred !*

In Missouri, the master is assisted in punishing as follows :—

If any slave resist his or her master, mistress, overseer or employer, or *refuse to obey* his or her lawful commands, it shall be lawful for such master, &c. to commit such slave to the common gaol of the county, there to remain *at the pleasure* of the master, &c ; and the sheriff shall receive such slave, and keep him, &c. in confinement, at the expense of the person committing him or her. *B Missouri Laws, 309.*

Delegated power of the Master.

According to the universal practice of the slave states, the master may delegate his tremendous power to any other person whom he pleases. Louisiana has the following express law :

The condition of a slave being merely a passive one, his subordination to his master, and to all who *represent* him, is not susceptible of any modification or restriction, (except in what can incite the slave to the commission of crime,) in such manner, that he owes to his master and to all his family a respect without bounds and an absolute obedience, and he is consequently to execute all the orders which he receives from him, his said master, or from them. *1 Martin's Digest, 616.*

Right of Marriage.

The following is, unquestionably, law and fact throughout the slave states :

A slave has never maintained an action against the violator of his bed. A slave is not admonished for incontinence, or punished for fornication or adultery ; never prosecuted for bigamy, or petty treason for killing a

husband being a slave, any more than admitted to an appeal for murder. *Opinion of Daniel Dulany, Esq. Attorney General of Maryland, 1 Maryland Reports, 561, 563.*

Right of Property.

It shall not be lawful for any slave to buy, sell, trade, &c. for any goods, &c. without a license from the owner, &c. nor shall any slave be permitted to keep any boat, periauger or canoe, or raise and breed, for the benefit of such slave, any horses, mares, cattle, sheep or hogs, under pain of forfeiting all the goods, &c. and all the boats, periaugers, or canoes, horses, mares, cattle, sheep, or hogs. And it shall be lawful for any person whatsoever, to seize and take away from any slave, all such goods, &c. boats, &c. &c. and to deliver the same into the hands of any justice of the peace, nearest to the place where the seizure shall be made, and such justice shall take the oath of the person making such seizure, concerning the manner thereof; and if the said justice shall be satisfied that such seizure has been made according to law, he shall pronounce and declare the goods so seized, to be forfeited, and order the same to be sold at public outcry, one half of the moneys arising from such sale to go to the state, and the other half to him or them that sue for the same. *James' Digest, 385-6. Act of 1740. S. Car.*

In Georgia, to prevent the master from permitting the slave to hire himself for his own benefit, there is a penalty of thirty dollars "for every weekly offence, on the part of the master, unless the labor be done on his own premises." *Prince's Digest, 457.* In Kentucky, Mississippi, Tennessee, Virginia, and Missouri, there are similar laws.

As early as the year 1779, North Carolina interposed as follows:

All horses, cattle, hogs or sheep, that one month after the passing of this act, shall belong to any slave or be of any slave's mark, in this state, shall be seized and sold by the County Wardens, and by them applied, the one half to the

support of the poor of the county, and the other half to the informer. *Haywood's Manual*, 526.

In Mississippi, the master incurs a fine of fifty dollars by permitting the slave to cultivate cotton for his own use. *Rev. Code*, 379 ; also fifty dollars for permitting the slave to go at large and trade as a freeman. *Rev. Code*, 374.

The civil code of Louisiana lays down the following principles :

All that a slave possesses belongs to his master—he possesses nothing of his own, except his peculium, that is to say, the sum of money or movable estate, which his master chooses he should possess. Art, 175, and see 1 *Martin's Digest*, 616.

Slaves are incapable of inheriting or transmitting property. *Civil Code*, Art. 945.

Colored Persons cannot be Witnesses against a White Criminal.

In Virginia, and some others of the slave states, and in one of the free, there is the following law :

Any negro or mulatto, bond or free, shall be a good witness in pleas of the commonwealth for or against negroes or mulattoes, bond or free, or in civil pleas where free negroes or mulattoes shall alone be parties, and in no other cases whatever. 1 *R. V. C.* 422. Similar in Missouri, 2 *Missouri Laws*, 600. In Mississippi, *Mississippi Rev. Code*, 372. In Kentucky, 2 *Litt. & Sw.* 1150. In Alabama, *Toulmin's Digest*, 627. In Maryland, *Maryland Laws*, act of 1717, ch. 13, § 2, & 3, and an act of 1751, ch. 14, § 4. In North Carolina and Tennessee, act of 1777, ch. 2, § 42. And in Ohio, act of Assembly, of January 25, 1807.

Restraints upon Emancipation.

In South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, emancipation can take place only by special act of the legislature. In North Carolina no negro or mulatto

slave can be set free "except for meritorious services to be adjudged of and allowed by the County Court." In Tennessee the court is authorized to emancipate upon petition, if the measures set forth in the petition, are in the opinion of the court, "consistent with the interest and policy of the state." In Mississippi the legislature only can emancipate, by special act, and that only upon proof of meritorious services, &c. In Kentucky, Missouri, Virginia, and Maryland, emancipation may be effected by deeds registered in court, saving the "rights of creditors," and giving bonds for maintenance if required by the court. In Virginia, however, if the emancipated be over twenty-one, he must leave the state before the expiration of twelve months, or be reduced into slavery. In Louisiana emancipation is regulated as follows :

The master who wishes to emancipate his slave, is bound to make a declaration of his intention to the judge of the parish where he resides; the judge must order notice of it to be published during forty days by advertisement posted at the door of the court house, and if at the expiration of this delay, no opposition be made, he shall authorize the master to pass the act of emancipation. Art. 187. The general powers thus conferred, are subject nevertheless, to these limitations : "No one can emancipate his slave unless the slave has attained the age of *thirty years*, and has behaved well at least for four years previous to his emancipation ; Art. 185, except "*a slave who has saved the life of his master, his master's wife, or one of his children,*" for such a one "*may be emancipated at any age.*" Art. 186.

Slaves emancipated otherwise than by these formalities are liable to be reduced to slavery, and in probably, all the states except North Carolina they are liable to be sold for the debts of their emancipators contracted before their emancipation. The State of Georgia has the following barbarous enactment :

If any person or persons shall, after the passing of this act (1801,) set free any slave or slaves, in any other manner and form than the one prescribed herein, (i. e. by special legislative act,) he shall forfeit for every such *offence two hundred dollars*, to be recovered by action of debt, or indictment, the one half to be applied to the use of the county in which the *offence* may have been committed, the other half to the use of the informer, and the said slave or slaves so manumitted and set free, *shall be still to all intents and purposes as much in a state of slavery as before they were manumitted and set free* by the party or parties so offending. *Prince's Digest, 457.*

In 1818 this unrighteous edict was fortified by the following :

All and every will and testament, deed, whether by way of trust or otherwise, contract, agreement or stipulation, or other instrument in writing, or by parole, made and executed for the purpose of effecting or endeavoring to effect the manumission of any slave or slaves, either directly by conferring or attempting to confer freedom on such slave or slaves, or indirectly or virtually, by allowing and securing or attempting to allow and secure to such slave or slaves the right or privilege of working for his, her or themselves, free from the control of the master or owner of such slave or slaves, or of enjoying the profits of his, her or their labor or skill, shall be and the same are hereby declared to be utterly null and void ; and the person or persons so making, &c. any such deed, &c. &c., and all and every person or persons concerned in giving or attempting to give effect thereto, whether by accepting the trust created or attempted to be created, or in any way or manner whatsoever, shall be severally liable to a penalty not exceeding *one thousand dollars*, to be recovered, &c. &c., and each and every slave or slaves in whose behalf such will or testament, &c. &c., shall have been made, shall be liable to be arrested by warrant under the hand and seal of any magistrate of this state, and being thereof convicted, &c. and shall be liable to be sold as a slave or slaves, by public outcry, and the proceeds of such sales shall be appropriated, &c. &c. *Prince's Digest, 466.*

From the foregoing and similar laws it appears :

1. The master may determine the kind, and degree, and time of labor, to which the slave shall be subjected.

2. The master may supply the slave with such food and clothing only, both as to quantity and quality, as he may think proper, or find convenient.

3. The master may, at his discretion, inflict any punishment upon the person of his slave.

4. Slaves have no legal right to any property in things real or personal ; but whatever they may acquire, belongs in point of law to their masters.

5. The slave, being a personal chattel, is at all times liable to be sold absolutely, or mortgaged, or leased, at the will of his master.

6. He may also be sold by process of law, for the satisfaction of the debts of a living, or the debts and bequests of a deceased master, at the suit of creditors or legatees.

7. A slave cannot be a party before a judicial tribunal, in any species of action, against his master, no matter how atrocious may have been the injury received from him.

8. Slaves cannot redeem themselves, nor obtain a change of masters, though cruel treatment may have rendered such change necessary for their personal safety.

9. Slaves can make no contracts.

10. Slavery is hereditary and perpetual.

11. A slave cannot be a witness against a white person, either in a civil or criminal cause.

12. He cannot be a party in a civil suit.

13. The benefits of education are withheld from the slaves.

14. The means of moral and religious instruction are not granted to the slave ; on the contrary, the efforts of the humane and charitable to supply these wants, are discountenanced by law.

15. Submission is required of the slave, not to the will of his master only, but to that of all other white persons.

16. The penal codes of the slaveholding states bear much more severely upon slaves than upon white persons.

17. Slaves are prosecuted and tried upon criminal accusations, in a manner inconsistent with the rights of humanity.—*Stroud's Slave Laws.*

CHAPTER V.

MORAL CONDITION OF THE ENSLAVED.

Testimony of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia.

The following "facts" are stated in a "Report of the *Synod of South Carolina and Georgia*, to whom was referred the subject of the *Religious Instruction* of the colored population, at its late session, in Columbia, S. C. Published by order of the Synod," in the Charleston Observer in March 22, 1834.

Before we attempt to set forth the duty [to evangelize these heathen] it will be proper to show, *that the negroes are destitute of the privileges of the gospel, and ever will be, under the present state of things.*

From long continued and close observation, say the Synod by their committees, we believe that their (colored population's) moral and religious condition is such, as that they may justly be considered the *heathen of this Christian country, and will bear comparison with heathen in any country in the world.*

In the vast field extending from an entire state beyond the Potomac to the Sabine river; and from the Atlantic to the Ohio, there are, to the best of our knowledge, not *twelve* men exclusively devoted to the religious instruction of the negroes! * * * The number ['two millions of souls, and more'] divided between them, would give to each a charge of near 170,000!!

We can furnish no accurate estimate of the proportion of negroes that attend divine worship on the Sabbath, taking the slave-holding states together. From an extensive observation, however, we venture to say, that not a twentieth part attend! *Thousands and thousands hear not the sound of the gospel, or ever enter a church from one year to another.*

We may now inquire if they enjoy the privileges of the gospel, in private, in their own houses, and on their own plantations? Again we return a negative answer. They have no bibles to read at their own fire-sides—no family altars—and when in affliction, sickness or death, they have no ministers to address to them the consolations of the gospel, nor to bury them with solemn and appropriate services. Sometimes a kind master will perform these offices. If the master is pious, the house servants alone attend family worship, and frequently few or none of these.

Here and there a master feels interested for the salvation of his servants, and is attempting something towards it, &c. We rejoice that there are such, and that the number is increasing. In general, we may however remark, that it does not enter into the arrangement of plantations, to make provision for their religious instruction; and so far as masters are engaged in this work, an almost unbroken silence reigns over the vast field.

We feel warranted, therefore, in the conclusion, that the negroes are *destitute of the privileges of the gospel, and must continue to be so, if nothing more is done for them.*

Testimony of the Rev. C. C. Jones.

The Rev. C. C. Jones, in a sermon preached before two associations of Planters in Georgia, in 1831, says:

Generally speaking, they (the slaves) appear to us to be without God and without hope in the world, a NATION OF HEATHENS in our very midst. We cannot cry out against the Papist for withholding the Scriptures from the common people, and keeping them in ignorance of the way of life, for we WITHHOLD the Bible from our servants, and keep them in ignorance of it, while we will not use the means to have it read and explained to them. The cry of our perishing servants comes up to us from

the sultry plains as they bend at their toil—it comes up from their humble cottages when they return at evening to rest their weary limbs—it comes up to us from the midst of their ignorance, and superstition, and adultery and lewdness.

Testimony of the Charleston Observer.

A writer in a late number of this paper, says ;

Let us establish missionaries among our negroes, who, in view of religious knowledge, are as debasingly ignorant as any one on the coast of Africa ; for I hazard the assertion, that throughout the bounds of our synod, there are at least *one hundred thousand slaves*, speaking the same language as ourselves, who never HEARD of the plan of salvation by a Redeemer.

Testimony of the Western Luminary.

A writer in the Western Luminary, a respectable religious paper in Lexington, Kentucky, says :

I proclaim it abroad to the Christian world, that *heathenism is as real in the slave States* as it is in the South Sea Islands, and that our negroes are as justly objects of attention to the American and other boards of foreign missions, as the Indians of the western wilds. What is it constitutes heathenism ? Is it to be destitute of a knowledge of God—of his holy word—never to have heard scarcely a sentence of it read through life—to know little or nothing of the history, character, instruction and mission of Jesus Christ—to be almost totally devoid of moral knowledge and feeling, of sentiments, of probity, truth, and chastity ? If this constitutes heathenism, then are there thousands, millions of heathens, in our beloved land. There is one topic to which I will allude, which will serve to establish the heathenism of this population. I allude to the *universal licentiousness* which prevails. It may be said emphatically that chastity is no virtue among them—that its violation neither injures female character in their own estimation, or that of their master or mistress. No instruction is ever given—no censure pronounced. I speak *not of the world ; I SPEAK OF CHRISTIAN FAMILIES GENERALLY.*

Testimony of J. A. Thome, of Kentucky.

Licentiousness. I shall not speak of the far South, whose sons are fast melting away under the *unblushing profligacy* which prevails. I allude to the slave-holding West. It is well known that the slave lodgings (I refer now to village slaves) are exposed to the entrance of strangers every hour of the night, and that the *sleeping apartments of both sexes are common.*

It is also a fact, that there is no allowed intercourse between the families and servants after the work of the day is over. The family, assembled for the evening, enjoy a conversation elevating and instructive. But the poor slaves are thrust out; no ties of sacred home thrown around them; no moral instruction to compensate for the toils of the day; no intercourse as of man with man; and should one of the younger members of the family, led by curiosity, steal out into the filthy kitchen, the child is speedily called back, thinking itself happy if it escape an angry rebuke. Why is this? The dread of moral contamination. Most excellent reason; but it reveals a horrid picture. *The slaves, cut off from all community of feeling with their masters, roam over the village streets, shocking the ear with their vulgar jestings, and voluptuous songs, or opening their kitchens to the reception of the neighboring blacks, they pass the evening in gambling, dancing, drinking, and the most obscene conversation, kept up until the night is far spent—then crown the scene with indiscriminate debauchery. Where do these things occur? In the kitchens of church members and elders.*

Testimony of the Rev. J. D. Paxton.

Some slaves have, indeed, a marriage ceremony performed. It is, however, usually done by one of their own color, and, of course, is not a legal transaction. And if done by a person legally authorized to perform marriages, still it would have no authority, because the law does not recognize marriage among the slaves, so as to clothe it with the rights and immunities which it wears among citizens. The owner of either party might, the next day or hour, break up the connexion in any way he pleased. In fact, these connexions have no protection,

and are so often broken up by sales and transfers and removals, that they are by the slaves often called 'taking up together.' The sense of marriage fidelity must be greatly weakened, if not wholly destroyed, by such a state of things. The effect is most disastrous.

But there is another circumstance which deserves our notice. What effect is likely to be produced on the morals of the whites, from having about them, and under their absolute authority, female slaves who are deprived of the strongest motives to purity, and exposed to peculiar temptations to opposite conduct! The condition of female slaves is such, that promises and threatenings and management can hardly fail to conquer them. They are entirely dependent on their master. They have no way to make a shilling, to procure any article they need. Like all poor people they are fond of finery, and wish to imitate those who are above them. What, now, are presents and kind treatment, or the reverse, if they are not complying, likely to effect on such persons! And the fact that their children, should they have any through such intercourse, may expect better treatment from so near relations, may have its influence. That the vice prevails to a most shameful extent, is proved from the rapid increase of mulattoes. Oh, how many have fallen before this temptation; so many, that it has almost ceased to be a shame to fall! Oh, how many parents may trace the impiety and licentiousness and shame of their prodigal sons, to the temptations found in the female slaves of their own or neighbors' households! Irregular habits are thus formed, which often last through life. And many a lovely and excellent woman, confiding in vows of affection and fidelity, trusting to her power over her devoted lover, has, after uniting her fate with his, and giving him all that woman has to give, found, when too late, how incorrigible are those habits of roving desire, formed in youth, and kept alive by the temptations and facilities of the slave system.

Testimony of the Rev. John Rankin.

The *Rev. John Rankin* has the following, among other statements, on this "delicate subject:—"

Again, slaves, in consequence of the manner in which

they are raised, are generally prone to vicious indulgence, and many of them are exceedingly profligate: their master's children often mingle with them, and not only witness their vicious practices, but also listen to their lascivious conversation, and thus from infancy they become familiar with almost every thing wicked and obscene. And this, in connexion with easy access, becomes a strong temptation to lewdness. Hence it often happens, that the master's children practise the same vices which prevail among his slaves; and even the master himself is liable to be overwhelmed by the floods of temptation. And in some instances the father and his sons are involved in one common ruin; nor do the daughters always escape this impetuous fountain of pollution. Were it necessary, I could refer you to several instances of slaves actually seducing the daughters of their masters! Such seductions sometimes happen even in the most respectable slaveholding families!

Testimony of S. A. Forral, Esq.

Negresses, when young and likely, are often employed as wet nurses by the white people; as also, by either the planter or his friends, to administer to their sensual desires. This frequently is a matter of speculation; for if the offspring, a mulatto, be a handsome female, 800 or 1000 dollars may be obtained for her in the New Orleans market. It is an occurrence of no uncommon nature, to see a Christian father sell his own daughter, and the brother his own sister, by the same father.

CHAPTER VI.

BEARING OF SLAVERY UPON THE MORAL CHARACTER OF SLAVEHOLDERS.

Testimony of Thomas Jefferson.

The whole commerce between master and slave, is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the

most unrelenting despotism on one part, and degrading submissions on the other. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to his *worst of passions*; and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in *tyranny*, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances.

Testimony of Judge Tucker.

Judge Tucker, of Virginia, in a published letter to a member of the General Assembly of that commonwealth, in 1801, bears the following testimony to the demoralizing tendency of slavery.

I say nothing of the baneful effect of domestic slavery on our moral character, and of its inconsistency with the truest principles of republicanism: I forbear to enlarge on all these topics, equally copious and important, because they have been repeatedly discussed by abler pens than mine, and because *I know you have been long sensible of their force.* Page 21.

If a female negro is childless, it is the fault of nature alone. *Ibid*: Page 12.

Testimony of Mr. Johnson.

Mr. Johnson, in the Convention for revising the Constitution of Virginia, in 1829, said:

Slavery has been the foundation of that impiety and dissipation, which has been so much disseminated among our countrymen. If it were totally abolished it would do much good.—*Debates in Virginia Convention, page 463.*

Testimony of Mr. Moore.

Mr. Moore, in the Legislature of Virginia in 1832, said:

Permit me now, sir, to direct your attention to some of the evil consequences of slavery, by way of argument, in favor of your maturely deliberating on the whole subject;

and adopting some efficient measures to remove the cause from which those evils spring. In the first place, I shall confine my remarks to such of those evils as affect the white population exclusively. And even in that point of view, I think that slavery as it exists among us, may be regarded as the heaviest calamity which has ever befallen any portion of the human race. If we look back through the long course of time which has elapsed since the creation to the present moment, we shall scarcely be able to point out a people whose situation was not in many respects preferable to our own, and that of the other states in which negro-slavery exists.—*Richmond Whig*.

Testimony of Mr. Summers.

Said Mr. Summers, in the same great debate :

A slave population, exercising the most pernicious influence upon the manners, habits and character, of those among whom it exists. Lispering infancy learns the vocabulary of abusive epithets, and struts the embryo tyrant of its little domain. The consciousness of superior destiny takes possession of his mind at its earliest dawning, and love of power and rule 'grows with his growth and strengthens with his strength.' When in the sublime lessons of Christianity he is taught 'to do unto others as he would have others do unto him;' he never dreams that the degraded negro is within the pale of that holy canon. Unless enabled to rise above the operation of powerful causes, he enters the world with miserable notions of self-importance, and under the government of an unbridled temper.—*Ibid*.

CHAPTER VII.

BIBLE ARGUMENTS, IN FAVOR OF AMERICAN SLAVERY, ANSWERED.

Example of the Jews.

1. The examples of the Jews, it is said, may be quoted in favor of American slavery.

But if so, why not quote the same authority, to justify exterminating wars, and polygamy? Why not quote the Jewish example to compel every man to marry his brother's widow, in case his brother dies without children? Why not quote the same authority to prove that every man has a right to kill the murderer of his nearest relative, without any judicial process? Why not quote Jewish examples for putting a disobedient child to death?

Servants held as property.

2. Servants among the Jews, it is supposed, are spoken of as *property*, Ex. 21 : 21. For he is his money. The meaning is, the servant's labor was to the master for the time being, the same as money. Servants among the Hebrews were not claimed, held, and treated as property, as we shall elsewhere show.

Christ did not condemn Slavery.

3. Again we are told, that Jesus Christ did not condemn slavery, by name. We answer, neither did he condemn offensive wars, gambling, lotteries, rum-making, and theatres, by name.

Servants mentioned in the New Testament not Slaves.

4. It is supposed, by some, that the words rendered *servant* in the New Testament, signify, invariably, such as were claimed, held, and treated as absolute property.

But this is by no means, the fact! The word generally rendered servant, in the New Testament, is δούλος. According to Parkhurst, it comes from the Hebrew *dol*, which signifies, *weak, powerless, poor, exhausted*. Hence, the first signification given to δούλος by the best Greek Lexicographers, is, *one in a servile state, a servant*. This is the first definition affixed to this word, by Parkhurst, Ewing, Grove, and Greenfield, Editor of Bagster's Comprehensive Bible. Donnegan says it means *a slave, a servant*.

This word occurs in the New Testament, one hundred and twenty-one times. It is applied to Christ, to Moses, and the Prophets, Phil. 2 : 7. Rev. 10 : 7. — 15 : 3. In twelve instances it is applied to the Apostles; fourteen times it is applied to Christians; and six times to sinners. And in about seventy places it is used to designate one in a state of *secular servitude, a servant*.

That this word was not generally used by the Apostles to designate one who was claimed, held and treated as property, is farther evident from the following considerations. (1.) In the Greek language this word corresponds with our word *servant*; it does not necessarily signify one who was held and treated as property; but it was used to designate one in a *servile state*, most generally a *slave*.

(2.) In Athens, however, this word was not used to signify a *slave* properly so called. See Robinson's *Antiq. of Greece*, p. 30, and Potter's *Gr. An.* vol. 1. page 68, and the number of the *Bib. Repository* for Jan. 1835.

From these authorities we learn, that among the Athenians, slaves, or those who were the *entire property* of another, were called, οἰκεταί, but *after their freedom was granted them*, they were named δούλοι, not being then, like the former, a part of the

master's estate, though they were held in a kind of servitude, being required to render some rude service, such as was required of the *μετοικαι* [resident strangers] to whom, in some respects, they were inferior.

Now when we consider that the Attic Greek is *substantially* the language in which the New Testament was written, it seems quite probable, that its writers did not, in using this word, depart from the sense above given.

(3.) This word was used sometimes by St. Paul, to designate a kind of servitude which he himself condemned, 1 Cor. 7 : 21, 23, Philemon, 16.

(4.) The other word, rendered servant in the New Testament is *οικετης*, from *οικος*, a house; a *domestic*, a *servant*, a *house servant* or *slave*. This word occurs but four times in the New Testament. Acts, 10 : 7. Rom. 14 : 4. 1 Pet. 2 : 18, and Luke, 16 : 13.

In the last passage here given, the reader will see at once, that it could not have been used to signify one who was the entire *property* of another.

But, admitting that this word is used in *one* place (1 Pet. ii. 18.) to signify those servants who were held as slaves, it by no means follows from this fact, that the Apostle meant by using it, to justify the *claim* of the slaveholder in that case. He directs those servants or slaves, how to suffer the *injuries* which might be inflicted upon them, but he does not direct the slaveholder *how* to inflict them. When he addresses masters, he commands them to render unto their servants that which is *just* and *equal*, and which command is a direct *condemnation* of slavery.

Were the masters mentioned in the New Testament slaveholders?

5. But we are told again, that the words used by the Apostle, in speaking of masters, necessarily imply such as held *slaves*.

1. The word *κύριος* *lord* or *master*, is used in the Bible as a title of authority or respect, but never to signify the owner of human beings. Gen. xviii. 12 : 1 Cor. viii. 5 : Acts xvi. 30.

2. The classical meaning of *δεσποτης*, is a *despot*, a *sovereign*, a *master of slaves*. But in the New Testament it does not invariably bear this signification.

It occurs in ten different passages; in six of them it is applied to Jesus Christ, or God. Luke ii. 29 : Acts iv. 24 : 2 Tim. ii. 21 : (compare verse 19, and Heb. iii. 6.) 2 Pet. ii. 1 : Jude 4 : Rev. vi. 10.

In four places it is used to signify earthly rulers or masters. 1 Tim. vi. 1, 2 : Titus ii. 9 : 1 Pet. ii. 18.

This word is sometimes used to signify the head or ruler of a family, as the reader will see by turning to the following places :—Matt. x. 25, and xxiv. 43 : Mark xiv. 14 : Luke xii. 39 : xiii. 25 : xxii. 11.

Servants under the Yoke.

But in 1 Tim. vi. 1, 2, it has been supposed to signify such as held servants as their absolute property.

“Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their own masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed.

“And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them because they are brethren, but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved partakers of the benefit.”

That there are two kinds of servants spoken of in the verses above quoted, we think is evident from a number of considerations :—

1. The peculiar phraseology of the passages determines this fact. Those servants who were claimed and treated as property, or absolute slaves,

are said to be "under the yoke;" those who were not claimed and held in this state, had "believing masters."

"Let as many servants as are *under the yoke*, count their own masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed.

"But they that have *believing masters*, let them not despise them, because they are brethren;—but rather do them service, because they are faithful partakers of the benefit."

That *et*, in this second verse, is an adversative conjunction, and should be rendered *but*, is well known, as this is not the word which is generally translated *and*, in the New Testament. This is a matter of fact, which no person at all acquainted with the original language of the New Testament will dispute. Hence we say, that the manner of the apostle's speaking here proves that two kinds of servants are meant; first, he refers to such as were claimed and held by their heathen masters as their absolute property, and tells them what he wishes them to do, and the reason why they should do it; and then he speaks of another class, by saying—"But those who have believing masters," and who, consequently were not claimed, held, and treated as property, and who are thus put in opposition to such as were "under the yoke."

2. Look at the different motives by which these two classes of servants are exhorted to perform certain duties. Those "under the yoke" are exhorted to obedience, upon the consideration that their disobedience would bring a *dishonor* upon religion. Not so with those who had "believing masters;" these were exhorted not to forsake their masters, because they were brethren, and which exhortation is plainly based upon the supposition, that they might forsake them if they chose. But to interpret the second verse as referring to one and the

same kind of servants, and also to one and the same kind of masters as those mentioned in the first verse, so far as the act of slaveholding was concerned, at once destroys the evident distinction made here by the apostle. This is so plain, that we see not how any one can deny it.

3. But suppose the apostle, instead of saying "believing despotes," had said converted idolater, or converted Jew, should we understand him as meaning by these terms, a real, practical idolater, or a real practical Jew? Not at all; no more than when a man speaks of a *converted infidel*—we are to understand him as meaning to designate one who had never embraced the Christian religion. And thus one might speak of a converted slaveholder, using the term *slaveholder*, not to describe his present relation, but to designate his former character; and precisely in this sense we believe the apostle used the term "*despotes*" in 1 Tim. vi. 2.

Specific Directions of the New Testament.

Another argument drawn from the New Testament, is generally stated thus: The apostles, by their specific directions to masters and servants, did, *de facto*, justify the *relation* which existed between the *slaveholder* and his *slave*. To this we answer:

(1.) This argument takes for granted, what has never been proved, *viz.* that all the servants and masters mentioned in the New Testament, were *slaves* and *slaveholders*.

(2.) But, admitting that the apostles did mean to justify the "*relation*" which existed between master and slave, when that "*relation*" gave the master the body of the slaves as his *absolute property*, then it follows as an undeniable consequence that the holy apostles did mean to justify all the "*rights*"

to which this "*relation*" entitled the master. If they justified such a "*relation*," they justified and approved *all the parts* of which it was composed.— And hence it would follow that the apostles justified, approved, and sanctioned a relation which authorized every master to commit *theft, adultery and murder*. Those Romans who held slaves in that relation, had a right in virtue of it, not only "to box" them or "to cuff" them "on the ear," but they were authorized and empowered by this relation to *torture* them, to *maim* them, and to *put them to death* in any way they chose, and according to Dr. Taylor's "*Elements of Civil law*," those slaves *could not be injured* in any way. And a relation which authorized and justified such *ouelties*, such *horrible*, and we may add, *diabolical injustice* as all this, many professing Christians and Ministers of the Gospel pretend to believe is "authorized," "permitted," and "sanctioned by the Bible!!!"

CHAPTER VIII.

JEWISH SERVITUDE UNLIKE AMERICAN SLAVERY.

Peculiarities of the Jewish Economy.

1. A Hebrew was permitted to kill a man who had murdered his friend, (Num. xxxv. 19;) and he might do this without the process of a trial. And upon the same ground, the Jews were permitted to commence and carry on exterminating wars, against the idolatrous nations around them. Hence, we suppose, that it is as really wrong for any man in this age of the world, to take away the liberty of his innocent neighbor, or to withhold it from him in any way, without an express permission from

God, as it would be for one to kill the murderer of his friend now, without the forms of law.

No hereditary slavery among the Jews.

2. Two-thirds of the servants in Israel were free at the end of six years; and the fiftieth year all were set free. There was no such thing as hereditary servitude among the Jews. Lev. xxv. 10; Deut. xv. 12.

But American slavery is perpetual, to the very last moment of the slave's earthly existence, and by law it is entailed upon all of his descendants, to the latest posterity.

Jewish servitude was voluntary.

3. Jewish servitude was voluntary, except in those cases where it was the penalty annexed to crime. They sold *themselves*, i. e. their service, for an equivalent, so they were not slaves; as an equivalent—to a state of slavery—is impossible.—Lev. xxv. 47. Neh. v. 8; Deut. xxviii. 68; [Expose yourselves for sale,] 1 Kings xxi. 20, 25; 2 Kings xvii. 17; Isa. l. 1; Rom. vii. 14; Jer. xxxiv. 14, margin, *sold himself*.

But American slavery is involuntary. No one who is now a slave in this land, was ever consulted, before his liberty was taken away, whether he would be a slave or not, and if he had been, he could not have given his master a just and proper title to his body as his property.

Jewish servants could contend with their masters.

4. Under the Mosaic economy, servants might contend with their masters about their rights; and to despise the cause of which was considered a heinous crime. Job. xxxi. 13.

But here, in this land of Christians, slaves can

make no contract of any kind, they can have no legal right to any property; all they have and are, belongs to their masters.

Jewish servants made free when cruelly treated.

5. The laws of Moses granted freedom to a servant who had been cruelly treated. Exodus xxi. 20, 27.

But our Christian laws allow the master to punish his slave as much as he desires, and afford the slave no redress; nay, if the slave makes any resistance, the law expressly justifies the master in *putting him to death*. In Kentucky, "any negro, mulatto, or *Indian*, bond or free," who "shall at any time" even "*lift his hand* in opposition to *ANY white person*, shall receive *THIRTY LASHES* on his or her *bare back*, WELL LAID ON, by order of the Justice."

Servitude among the Jews did not jeopardize the lives of servants.

6. The master who killed a servant with a rod or by blows, suffered the penalty of death, as other murderers. Lev. xxiv. 17, 21; Num. xxxv. 30. So that their lives were as safe and as valuable in the eye of the law, as their master's.

In these United States, many a slave has been killed by the treatment he has received from the hand of his master, overseer, or driver; and no instance has been known of a white man's being put to death for such murder.

Domestic relations.

7. Servants were carefully protected among the Jews, in their domestic relations; so that parents and their children must not be separated. And in case the mother did not get her freedom as soon as

her husband, the children remained with her ; and her master was bound to receive him to service again, in case he chose to live with his wife and children. Ex. xxi. 7, 11. They were entitled to an adequate subsistence, Deut. xxv. 4 ; 1 Tim. v. 18 ; 1 Cor. ix. 9, and treated with humanity. Lev. xxv. 39, 53.

But here, slaves are entirely unprotected in their social and domestic relations ; husbands and wives, parents and their children may be, and they are separated and parted for ever, at the irresponsible will of the master.

It is true that a law in one of the States provides, that "Every owner shall be held to give his slaves one barrel of Indian corn, or the equivalent thereof in rice, *beans* or other grain, and a pint of salt ; and to deliver the same in kind *every month*, under the penalty of a fine of ten dollars for every offence." But this law may be, as it is, easily evaded, on the ground that the slave cannot be a party in a civil suit, or a colored person a witness against a white person.

A law of North Carolina provides that each slave shall receive at least "*one quart* of corn per day ;" and if any one who does not receive this amount be convicted of stealing corn, cattle, &c. from any person not the owner of such slave, such injured person may maintain an action of trespass against the master, and shall recover his or her damages. Another law provides, that "the slave shall be entitled to receive from his owner *one* linen shirt and pantaloons for the summer, and a linen shirt and woollen great coat and pantaloons for the winter."

Instruction and consolation.

8. The laws of Moses secured to servants the necessary means of instruction and consolation.—Deut. xxxi. 9, 13 ; xxix. 10, 13.

But no such laws exist in this land; here the operation of the laws tend directly to deprive the slaves of all "mental" and religious "instruction," for their whole power is exerted to keep the slaves in the lowest kind of ignorance.

Laws for the protection of strangers.

9. The laws of Moses required every one to pity and love the strangers who might chance to come among the Jews, and under severe penalties they were forbidden to vex or oppress them in any way. Ex. xxiii. 6, 9; xxi. 20; xii. 48, 50; Lev. xix. 33, 34; xxv. 35, 36; Num. xv. 15, 16, 29; Deut. i. 16, 17; x. 18, 19; Exodus xxii. 21; xxiii. 9.

Here the laws view every colored stranger as an enemy, and they consider him a slave until he proves his freedom.

Fugitive servants.

10. If a servant escaped from his master and fled to the land of Israel, the law of Moses commanded every one to protect him; and forbade any one to deliver such to his master again. Deut. xxiii. 15.

But here, if a slave escape from his master, and flee to any part of the United States, the law forbids any one to protect him, and commands that he be delivered up to his master.

Husbands and wives.

11. If a Jewish servant had taken a wife of his master, and wished still to live with him, he had the privilege. Ex. xxi. 5, 6; Deut. xv. 18.

But it is not thus with American slaves; among them, husbands and wives are parted at the irresponsible will of the slaveholder. In point of law, an American slave cannot be married at all.

Time for rest allowed Jewish servants.

12. Those servants among the Jews who had served fifty years had *at least seventeen years rest* in Sabbaths, feasts, &c. Ex. xx. 10; Deut. v. 14; xii. 17, 18; xvi. 11; Matt. xxv. 21, 23.

But nothing of this kind has ever been known among the Americans held in bondage by the Christians of this nation.

When they were set free, compensation was allowed them and not to their masters.

13. When Jewish servants went out free, they were to be liberally furnished with means to begin life with. Ex. xxi. 2, 4; Lev. xxv. 17; Deut. xv. 13, 14.

But in this land, if any poor slave goes free at all, by the consent of his master, he goes free with nothing but his poor worn-out body, and his master demands a price for his liberation!

Jewish servants held property.

14. They had the fruits of the *rest years*, and gleanings of harvests. Lev. xix. 9, 10; xxv. 6; Ex. xxiii. 11; 1 Sam. ix. 8; Matt. xviii. 25.

But here a slave can possess nothing but what is made by law to belong to his master.

They were endowed with authority.

15. Eligible to offices. 1 Chron. xv. 18; xvi. 5, 38; xxvi. 12, 14; Matt. xxv. 21; 2 Sam. ix. 9, 10; Neh. v. 15.

Not so in this nation. Here a slave cannot be a witness in a case where a white man is concerned. And in the city of New-York a free colored American, in the year 1836, could not obtain a license even to drive a cart. And in many parts of the country, colored Americans are not admitted to the elective franchise.

Jewish servants could not be made articles of traffic.

16. They could not be sold. Ex. xxi. 7, 8.

But here thousands of slaves are sold annually, from one State to another, and many of them by members and ministers of the same church to which the slaves themselves belong.

They were marriageable in the families of their masters.

17. Jewish masters were obligated to provide for the marriage of maid servants, if they did not take them to themselves, or sons. Ex. xxi. 8.

But American slaveholders allow no legal marriages for their slaves, but they rather provide for their living in concubinage and adultery.

They were on a level with the children under age.

18. They could be incorporated into the family. Ex. xxi. 8, 9, by circumcision. Ex. xii. 43, 45; Lev. xxii. 10, 11; 1 Chron. ii. 34, 35, consequently could be heirs. Gen. xv. 3; Prov. xvii. 2; Mark xii. 7; Luke xx. 14.

But American slaves have no such privileges;—they are on a level with brutes, so far as rights are concerned—they can make no bargains of any kind.

No impediments in the way to prevent the freedom of Jewish servants.

19. They could be redeemed, or redeem themselves, at any time. Lev. xxv. 43.

American slaves have no such power. Here, laws have been enacted to prevent emancipation, even when the slaveholder is willing to confer it.

Thus we see, that the evils which are always, more or less, attendant upon American slavery, were not consequent upon the servitude allowed

among the Jews, such as slave prisons, slave markets, slave auctions, chains, iron yokes, shackles, whips, thumbscrews, &c. &c. Among the Jews there was no violent separation of parents and children, no parting of husbands and wives, no barbarous punishments, or any one thing in fact, which rendered Jewish servitude like American slavery.

CHAPTER IX.

SCRIPTURE ARGUMENT AGAINST SLAVERY.

Slaveholding is Theft.

1. To claim, hold, and treat a human being as property, is felony against God and man. Ex. xx. 15; Deut. xxiv. 7. If it be theft to reduce a man to slavery, it must be equally so to keep him in this state.

About sixty thousand human beings are feloniously reduced to slavery in this country every year. As soon as they are born, they are claimed, seized, held, and treated as property.

Covetousness.

2. All slaveholding and slave dealing is *covetousness*, and as such, it is forbidden. Ex. xx. 17; Isa. lvii. 17; Jer. li. 13; Ezek. xxxiii. 31; Luke xii. 15; Col. iii. 5; 2 Pet. ii. 3.

The man who claims the body of his fellow man as his property, does, *de facto*, covet that which, in the very nature of things, must belong to his neighbor, and to which no circumstances can give him a just title.

Oppression.

3. Slavery is the very worst form of *oppression*. Oppression is the spoiling or taking of another's person or goods or the fruit of his labor, by constraint, violence or force; and this crime is committed when ever one human being offers any violence to the person, estate, or conscience of another. Prov. xiv. 31; xxviii. 3; Isa. xlix. 26; Jer. vii. 6; xxi. 12, 13; Hos. xii. 7; Amos iv. 1; Mic. ii. 2; Zach. vii. 10; Mal. iii. 5; Eccl. iv. 1; Ezek. xxii. 29; Amos iii. 9.

Manstealing.

4. Slavery is manstealing, and as such is forbidden, under the severest penalties. Ex. xxi. 16; Deut. xxiv. 7.

How has the present slaveholder come into the possession of the children whom he now holds as his slaves? They were never willed to him, nor did he purchase them of another. How could he take possession of them, and part them from their parents without stealing them?

Enslavers.

5. The law of God was made for *enslavers*. 1 Tim. i. 10. The word here rendered menstealers, *signifies to enslave, to reduce to slavery to treat men as cattle.*

Fraud and robbery.

6. Slavery is *legalized wholesale fraud and robbery*. Exek. xviii. 4; Mal. iii. 8, 9; Prov. xxi. 7; Isa. lxi. 8; Ezek. xxii. 29; Amos iii. 10; Nah. iii. 1; Mark x. 19; 1 Thes. iv. 6; Jer. xxii. 3; James v. 4.

Traffic in the persons of Men forbidden.

7. American slavery is condemned in all those places which forbid trading in the persons of men.

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Ezek. xxvii. 13 ; Joel iii. 3, 6 ; Amos ii. 6 ; Zach. xi. 4, 5 ; Rev. xviii. 13.

It could not exist without the slave trade.

Christian kindness.

8. The exercise of that kindness and pity which are commanded in the Bible toward the poor, is utterly irreconcilable with slavery. Lev. xxv. 35 ; Job vi. 14 ; xxxi. 16 ; Psal. xli. 1 ; lxxxii. 3 ; Prov. xxii. 22 ; xxiv. 11 ; xxxi. 8 ; Isa. i. 16 ; and lviii. throughout ; Jer. xxxiv. 10 ; Matt. xxv. 44 ; Heb. xiii. 3 ; 1 John iii. 17.

Duties of masters.

9. American slavery is condemned in the specific directions of the Apostle, to masters and servants. 1 Cor. vii. 21, 23 ; Eph. vi. 9 ; Col. iv. 1.

These precepts, if obeyed, would annihilate slavery at once, and forever.

Analogy of the gospel.

10. It is condemned in all those passages which represent the *evils of sin* by slavery, and gospel benefits by freedom. Gal. iv. 3, 7, 22, 31 ; v. 1, 13 ; Isa. lxi. 1, 3 ; John viii. 32, 36.

The golden rule.

11. By the reciprocal and universal law of love which is binding on all men. Matt. v. 7 ; vii. 12 ; xxii. 37 ; John xv. 12, 17 ; Rom. xii. 9 ; 1 Cor. xiii. 28.

Spirit of the gospel.

12. Slavery cannot be reconciled with the spirit and design of the gospel. It will not exist surely in the millennial state. Gen. iii. 15, xxii, 18 ; Luke iv. 18 ; 1 Cor. iii. 17 ; Zeph. iii. 9 ; Matt. iii. 10.

If it is condemned by the spirit of the gospel, the

precepts of the gospel must be against it, of course, because the spirit of the gospel is learned from its precepts.

Conditions of salvation.

13. To claim, hold and treat a human being as property, is utterly at variance with the conditions upon which man is authorized to expect forgiveness and salvation from God. Matt. v. 23. Therefore, if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath AUGHT against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; FIRST be reconciled with thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.

CHAPTER X.

SENTIMENTS FAVORABLE TO THE PERPETUITY OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

Governor McDuffie.

Domestic slavery, therefore, instead of being a political evil, is the corner stone of our republican edifice. No patriot who justly estimates our privileges, will tolerate the idea of emancipation, at any period, however remote, or on any conditions of pecuniary advantage, however favorable. I would as soon think of opening a negotiation for selling the liberty of the state at once, as for making any stipulation for the ultimate emancipation of our slaves. So deep is my conviction on this subject that if I were doomed to die immediately after recording these sentiments, I could say in all sincerity, and under all the sanction of Christianity and patriotism, **GOD FORBID THAT MY**

DESCENDANTS, IN THE REMOTEST GENERATIONS SHOULD LIVE IN ANY OTHER THAN A COMMUNITY HAVING THE INSTITUTION OF DOMESTIC SLAVERY.

Testimony from Charleston, S. C.

One of the most imposing assemblages of citizens in respect of numbers, intelligence and respectability, that we have ever witnessed, met yesterday morning at the City Hall, to receive the report of twenty-one, appointed by the meeting on the 4th instant, on the incendiary machinations now in progress against the peace and welfare of the southern states. *The clergy of all denominations attended in a body, lending their sanction to the proceedings, and adding by their presence, to the impressive character of the scene!*

[After the most violent threats against the discussion of the subject of slavery, the meeting closed with the following resolution:]

On motion of Captain Lynch,

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting are due to the reverend gentlemen of the CLERGY in this city, who have so promptly, and so effectually responded to public sentiment, *by suspending their schools in which the free colored population were taught*; and that this meeting deem it a patriotic action, worthy of all praise, and proper to be imitated by other teachers of similar schools throughout the state!!!—*Charleston Cour.*

Testimony from Camden, S. C.

The following resolution was passed at a meeting of the citizens of Camden, S. C., in 1834:

"Resolved, That slavery, as it exists with us, *is* *denied to be an evil*, and that we regard those who are now making war upon it, in any shape, or under any pretext, are furious fanatics or knaves and hypocrites; and we hereby promise them, upon all occasion which may put them in our power, the fate of the pirate, the incendiary, and the midnight assassin!"

Testimony from Lancasterville, S. C.

The following documents are taken from the Southern Christian Herald :

At a public meeting, held in Lancasterville, for the purpose of taking into consideration the proceedings of the Abolitionists of the North, several resolutions were passed, and by request the meeting was addressed by the Rev. J. H. Thornwell, and the Rev. William Carlisle. The Rev. Mr. Postell's sentiments, contained in a letter, were read at the meeting. The purport of the resolution was as follows :

That Slavery, as it exists in the South, is no evil, and is consistent with the principles of revealed religion ; that all opposition to it arises from a misguided and fiendish fanaticism, which we are bound to resist in the very threshold.

Rev. J. H. Thornwell's testimony, Methodist.

I cannot regard slavery as a moral evil for the following reasons :

1. It was distinctly recognized by Moses.
2. It is not inconsistent with the precepts of Christianity. 1 Cor. vii. 20, 21. The word translated *servant* means a slave. 1 Tim. vi. 1.

[This is a great mistake. See page 35 and 36.]

As I cannot believe that slavery is wrong in itself, I am decidedly opposed to the measures of the abolitionists.

Testimony of the Charleston Courier.

We protest against the *assumption*—the unwarrantable assumption—that slavery is ultimately to be extirpated from the southern states. *Ultimate* abolitionists are enemies of the South, the same in kind, and only less in degree, than *immediate* abolitionists.

Testimony of the Columbia, S. C., Telescope.

Let us declare, through the public journals of our country, that the question of Slavery is not, and shall not be open to discussion—that the system is deep rooted

among us, and **MUST REMAIN FOREVER**: that the very moment any private individual attempts to lecture us upon its evils and immorality, and the necessity of putting means in operation to secure us from them, *in the same moment his tongue shall be cut out and cast upon a dung-hill.*

Testimony of the Washington Telegraph.

As a man, a Christian, and a citizen, we believe that slavery is right; that the condition of the slave, as it now exists in slaveholding states, is the best existing organization of civil society.

Testimony of the Charleston Courier.

We beg him, however, [Mr. Fletcher, one of the speakers at Faneuil Hall] and all who like him, acknowledge their affectionate interest in their political obligations to the South, to disabuse themselves of the notion that the South regards slavery as an evil, or even dreams of its removal. Our institutions are likely to endure for ages, if not to be perpetual; and while they do endure, and are endured by us, we cannot recognize the moral or social, to say nothing of the political propriety, of denouncing them as *evil*. Our right in the subject-matter is perfect and exclusive, and not a tongue should wag, or breath be stirred, against its exercise.

Testimony of the Augusta, Geo. Chronicle.

He [Amos Dresser] should have been hung up as high as Haman to rot upon the gibbet, until the wind whistled through his bones. The cry of the whole South should be, **DEATH, INSTANT DEATH** to the abolitionist, *wherever he is caught*. Northern Abolitionists are a class of desperate fanatics, who, to accomplish their unhallowed ends, are ready to sacrifice our lives, and those of our wives and children. Keep their publications from among us, and **HANG** every emissary that dare step a lawless foot upon our soil—cut off all trade with every northern house connected with them, &c.

Testimony of the Rev. J. C. Postell, Methodist.

The following is from an Address of the Rev. J. C. Postell, delivered at a public meeting, held at Orangeburgh Court-house, S. C., on the 21st of July, 1836.

I have not time, at present, nor do I wish to trespass upon your patience, in a lengthy address on this subject; but to comply with your request, involves my duty as your minister, and the servant of the Church, and from what has been promised, the following conclusions result:

1st. That slavery is a judicial visitation.

2d. That it is not a moral evil.

3d. That it is supported by the Bible.

4th. It existed in all ages.

The reverend orator then takes up the above points, and argues them at some length, but we have not room to follow him. On the second proposition, he says :

It is not a moral evil. The fact that slavery is of Divine appointment, would be proof enough with the Christian, that it could not be a moral evil. But when we view the hordes of savages, marauders and human cannibals enslaved to lust and passion, and abandoned to idolatry and ignorance, to revolutionize them from such a state, and enslave them where they may have the Gospel, and the privileges of Christians, so far from being a moral evil, it is a MERCIFUL VISITATION. If slavery was either the invention of man or a moral evil, it is logical to conclude, the power to create has the power to destroy. Why then, has it existed? And why does it now exist? amidst all the power of legislation in state and church, and the clamor of abolitionists. 'IT IS THE LORD'S DOINGS, AND MARVELLOUS IN OUR EYES.' And had it not been done for the best, God alone who is able, long since would have overruled it. IT IS BY DIVINE APPOINTMENT.

Testimony of the Rev. James Smylie, Presbyterian

The Reverend James Smylie, A. M., a Presbyterian minister in Mississippi, says in a pamphlet he has recently published in favor of American slavery :

If slavery be a sin, and advertising and apprehending slaves with a view to restore them to their masters, is a direct violation of the divine law, and if *the buying, selling, or holding a slave FOR THE SAKE OF GAIN*, is a heinous sin and scandal, then verily, **THREE-FOURTHS OF ALL THE EPISCOPALIANS, METHODISTS, BAPTISTS AND PRESBYTERIANS IN ELEVEN STATES OF THE UNION, are of the Devil.**—They 'hold,' if they do not buy and sell slaves, and, *with few exceptions*, they hesitate not to 'apprehend and restore runaway slaves, when in their power.

Charleston Union Presbytery.

Extract from the minutes of the Charleston Union Presbytery, at their meeting on the 7th April, 1836.

It is a principle which meets the views of this body that slavery, as it exists among us, is a political institution, with which ecclesiastical judicatories have not the smallest right to interfere; and in relation to which, any such interference, especially at the present momentous crisis, would be *morally wrong*, and fraught with the most dangerous and pernicious consequences. The sentiments which *we maintain, in common with Christians at the South, of every denomination*, are sentiments which so fully approve themselves to our consciences, are so identified with our solemn convictions of duty, that we should maintain them under any circumstances.

E. T. BUST, Moderator.

B. GILDERSLEEVE, Temporary Clerk.

Synod of South Carolina and Georgia.

Resolution of the Presbyterian Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, Dec. 1834.

Resolved, unanimously, That in the opinion of this Synod, Abolition Societies, and the principles on which they are founded, in the United States, are inconsistent with the interests of the slaves, the rights of the holders, and the great principles of our political institution.

**Testimony of the Missionary Society of the
South Carolina Conference.**

The following declaration of sentiments has been published in Charleston, South Carolina, by the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society of the South Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church :

We denounce the principles and opinions of the abolitionists in toto; and solemnly do declare our conviction and belief that, whether they were originated, as some business men have thought, as a money speculation, or, as some politicians think, for party electioneering purposes, or, as we are inclined to believe, in a false philosophy, over-reaching or setting aside the scriptures through a vain conceit of higher moral refinement, they are utterly erroneous, and altogether hurtful. We consider and believe that the *Holy Scriptures*, so far from giving any countenance to this delusion, do equivocally *authorise* the relation of MASTER and SLAVE.

Hopewell Presbytery, South Carolina.

On the subject of domestic slavery, this Presbytery believe the following facts have been most incontrovertibly established, viz :

1. Slavery has existed in the church of God from the time of Abraham to this day. Members of the Church of God, have held slaves bought with their money, and born in their houses; and this relation is not only recognized, but its duties are defined clearly, both in the Old and New Testaments.

2. Emancipation is not mentioned among the duties of the master to his slave. While obedience 'even to the forward' master is enjoined upon the slave-

3. No instance can be produced of an otherwise orderly Christian, being REPROVED, much less EXCOMMUNICATED from the church, for the single act of holding domestic slaves, from the days of Abraham down to the date of the modern abolitionist.

Synod of Virginia, Presbyterian.

The committee to whom were referred the resolutions, &c., have, according to order, had the same under consideration—and respectfully report that in their judgment, the following resolutions are necessary and proper to be adopted by the Synod at the present time.

Whereas, the publications and proceedings of certain organised associations, commonly called anti-slavery, or abolition societies, which have arisen in some parts of our land, have greatly disturbed, and are still greatly disturbing the peace of the church, and of the country; and the Synod of Virginia deem it a solemn duty which they owe to themselves and to the community, to declare their sentiments upon the subject; therefore:

Resolved, unanimously, That we consider the dogma fiercely promulgated by said associations—that slavery as it exists in our slaveholding States is necessarily sinful, and ought to be immediately abolished, and the conclusions which naturally follow from that dogma, as directly and palpably contrary to the plainest principles of common sense and common humanity, and to the clearest authority of the word of God.

Testimony of the Rev. R. N. Anderson, Presbyterian.

To the Sessions of the Presbyterian Congregations within the bounds of the West Hanover Presbytery:

At the approaching stated meeting of our Presbytery, I design to offer a preamble and string of resolutions on the subject of the use of wine in the Lord's Supper; and also a preamble and a string of resolutions on the subject of the treasonable and abominably wicked interference of the northern and eastern fanatics with our political and civil rights, our property and our domestic concerns. You are aware that our clergy, whether with or without reason, are more suspected by the public than

are the clergy of other denominations. Now, dear Christian Brethren, I humbly express it as my earnest wish, that you quit yourselves like men. If there be any stray goat of a minister among us, tainted with the blood-hound principles of abolitionism, let him be ferreted out, silenced, excommunicated, and left to the public to dispose of him in other respects.

Your affectionate brother in the Lord,

1835.

ROBERT N. ANDERSON !!!

General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church.

The following statements were made in the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, convened in Pittsburgh in May, 1836, and they have never been contradicted :

He (Mr. Dickey) believed there were many, and great evils in the Presbyterian church; but the doctrine of slaveholding, he was fully persuaded, was the worst heresy now found in the church.

Mr. Stewart—I hope this Assembly are prepared to come out fully, and declare their sentiments that slaveholding is a most flagrant and heinous SIN. Let us not pass it by in this indirect way, while so many thousands and thousands of our fellow creatures are writhing under the lash, often inflicted too by *ministers and elders of the Presbyterian church*.

In THIS CHURCH, a man may take a free-born child, force it away from its parents, to whom God gave it in charge, saying, 'Bring it up for me,' and sell it as a beast, or hold it in perpetual bondage, and not only escape corporeal punishment, but really be esteemed an excellent christian. *Nay, even ministers of the Gospel, and doctors of divinity*, may engage in this unholy traffic, and yet sustain their high and holy calling.

* * * * *

Elders, ministers and doctors of divinity are with both hands engaged in the practice.

* * * * *

This same Assembly, in 1816, struck out of the Confession of the Church the following note, adopted in 1794, and which contained the doctrine of the church at that pe-

riod, on the subject of slaveholding. The note was appended to the one hundred and forty-second question of the large catechism :

1 Tim. i. 10. The law is made for **MAN STEALERS**. This crime among the Jews exposed the perpetrators of it to capital punishment; Exodus xxi. 16; and the apostle here classes them with sinners of the first rank. The word he uses, in its original import, comprehends all who are concerned in bringing any of the human race into slavery, or in retaining them in it. *Homnium furis, qui seives vel liberos abducent, retinent vendunt, vel emunt.*—Stealers of men are all those who bring off slaves or freemen, and **KEEP, SELL, OR BUY THEM**. To steal a free-man; says Grotius, is the highest kind of theft. In other instances, we only steal human property, but when we steal or retain men in slavery, we seize those who, in common with ourselves, are constituted by the original grant, lords of the earth. Gen. i. 28. *Vide Poli synopsis in loc.*

Methodist Church, in 1780.

In the year 1780, the sentiments of the Methodist societies in this country were thus expressed upon this subject, in the minutes of the Conference for that year :

The conference acknowledges that slavery is contrary to THE LAWS OF GOD, MAN AND NATURE, and hurtful to society; CONTRARY TO THE DICTATES OF CONSCIENCE AND PURE RELIGION; and doing what we would not that others should do unto us; and they pass their DISAPPROBATION upon all our friends who keep slaves, and they advise their freedom.

And from Lee's History of the Methodists, page 101, we learn that the M. E. Church was organized, with a number of express rules upon this subject, which stipulated that slavery *should not be continued* in this church. One of them was as follows :

Every member in our society shall legally execute and record an instrument [for the purpose of setting every slave in his possession free,] within the space of two years.

Another was as follows :

Every person concerned, who will not comply with these rules, shall have liberty quietly to withdraw from our society within the twelve months following, the notice being given him as aforesaid :—otherwise the assistant shall *exclude* him from the society.

And again, another rule declared that :

Those who *bought* or *sold* SLAVES, or gave them away, unless on purpose to free them, should be expelled immediately.

And forty years ago the discipline of this church contained the following directions upon the subject :

The preachers and other members of our society, are requested to consider the subject of negro slavery with deep attention ; and that they impart to the General Conference through the medium of the Yearly Conferences, or otherwise, any important thoughts upon the subject, that the Conference may have *full light*, in order to take further steps towards eradicating this ENORMOUS EVIL from that part of the church of God with which they are connected. The Annual Conferences are *directed* to draw up addresses for the gradual emancipation of the slaves, to the legislatures of those states in which no general laws have been passed for that purpose. These addresses shall *urge*, in the most respectful, but pointed manner, the necessity of a law for the gradual emancipation of slaves. Proper committees shall be appointed by the Annual Conferences, out of the most respectable of our friends, for the conducting of the business ; and the presiding elders, elders, deacons, and travelling preachers, shall procure as many proper signatures as possible to the addresses, and give all the assistance in their power, in EVERY RESPECT to aid the committees, and to further this blessed undertaking. Let this be continued from year to year, till the desired end be accomplished.

General Conference of the M. E. Church in 1836.

But the above was long ago left out of the Discipline of this church, and at the last session of its highest ecclesiastical body in Cincinnati, in May, 1836, the following resolution was adopted, yeas 120, noes 14.

Resolved, by the delegates of the Annual Conferences, in the *General Conference assembled*, That they are decidedly opposed to modern abolitionism, and wholly disclaim any right, wish, or intention to interfere in the civil and political relation between master and slave, as it exists in the slave-holding states of this Union.

A motion was made, to amend the above resolution by putting in the words, "Although we are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of slavery," the language of the Discipline, but this motion was lost.

Testimony of Rev. W. Winans, Methodist.

At this same General Conference of the M. E. Church, the Rev. Mr. Winans, a prominent, popular preacher, and a southern delegate, confessed himself there a *slaveholder*; solemnly asserted that "it was important to the interests of the slaves, and in view of the question of slavery, that there be Christians who were slaveholders. Christian ministers should be slaveholders, and diffused throughout the South. Yes, he repeated, there should be "members, and DEACONS, and ELDERS, and BISHOPS, too, who were slaveholders."

Mr. Winans, in relating an anecdote in Conference, to show the inexpediency of abolition efforts, as regards their influence on the prosperity of the southern church, intimated that the article in the Methodist Discipline on the subject of slavery, was, in fact, a dead letter.

Testimony of Dr. Capers, Methodist.

Dr. Capers in his speech, in mentioning various reasons why Methodists, after a certain date, became less odious to the people of the southern states, said—"at length people began to consider that many of them were slaveholders—why should they be insurrectionists?"

Again—the southern section of the Methodist church is now murmuring because slaveholding ministers are excluded from the highest offices in the churches—nay more—disunion is seriously, openly hinted at by prominent preachers in the South, if hereafter, the fact of *a minister being a slaveholder*, is considered valid reason for withholding from him the office of Bishop.

Testimony of Prof. Hodge, Presbyterian.

It is acknowledged, that, at the time of the Advent of Jesus Christ, *slavery* in its worst forms, prevailed over the world. The Saviour found it around him in Judea; the Apostles met with it in Asia, Greece, and Italy. How did they treat it? Not by the denunciation of *slaveholding* as necessarily *sinful*. The assumption that slaveholding is, in itself, a crime, is not only an error, but it is an error fraught with evil consequences.

Bib. Rep. April, 1836.

Testimony of W. B. Seabrook, of S. C.

In the judgment of my fellow citizens, slavery is *not inconsistent with the laws of nature, and of God*. The Bible informs us, that it was ESTABLISHED and SANCTIONED by DIVINE AUTHORITY even among the elect of Heaven.—*Essay, read before the Agricultural Society of St. Johns' Collection, 1836.*

Testimony of Edward Brown, of S. Carolina.

Slavery has ever been the step-ladder by which civilized countries have passed from barbarism to civilization. It appears, indeed, to be the *only* state, capable of bringing the love of independence and of ease, inherent in

man, to the discipline necessary to the supply of food, raiment, and shelter, necessary to his physical wants.—*Notes on the origin and necessity of Slavery*, 1826.

Testimony of Dr. Dalcho, of S. Carolina, Episcopalian.

Slavery is not forbidden by the Divine Law, so it is left to our own judgment whether we hold slaves or not.

Practical Considerations, &c., 1823.

Charleston Courier.

We confidently pronounce, that he must wilfully shut his eyes against the broad and palpable light of truth, who will not acknowledge that the Old Testament conclusively shows, that slavery was not only not condemned, but received the *express sanction* of the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob.—1835.

Testimony of W. A. Duer, LL. D., Episcopalian.

We deny that it is a crime to retain [in slavery] those ignorant and helpless beings, who have been cast upon [our] protection, as well as thrown into [our] power by no act of their own.—*3d An. Rep. N. Y. City Col. Society*.

Testimony of the Quarterly Christian Spectator, Presbyterian.

The Bible contains no *explicit prohibition* of slavery, it recognizes both in the Old Testament and in the New, such a constitution of society, and it lends its authority to *enforce* the mutual obligations resulting from that constitution.—1833.

Testimony of Dr. R. Furman, Baptist.

The right of holding slaves is clearly *established* in the Holy Scriptures, both by precept and example.—*Exposition of the views of the Baptists, addressed to the Governor of S. Carolina*, 1833.

Testimony of T. R. Dew, Prof. of History, Metaphysics and Political Law, in William and Mary College, Episcopalian.

Slavery was *established* and *sanctioned*, by Divine authority, among even the elect of Heaven—the favored

children of Israel.—*Review of the Debate in the Virginia Legislature of 1831 and 1832.*

Testimony of Rev. E. D. Simms, Prof. of Lang. Randolph, Macon College, Methodist.

These extracts from HOLY WRIT UNEQUIVOCALLY ASSERT THE RIGHT OF PROPERTY IN SLAVES, together with the usual incidents of that right; such as the power of acquisition and disposition in various ways according to municipal regulations. The right to buy and sell, and to transmit to children by way of inheritance, is clearly stated. The only restriction on the subject, is in reference to the *market*, in which slaves or bondmen were to be purchased.

Upon the whole then, whether we consult the Jewish polity instituted by God himself; or the uniform opinion and practice of mankind in all ages of the world; or the injunctions of the New Testament and the Moral Law; we are brought to the conclusion, that Slavery is not immoral.

Having established the point, that the first African slaves were legally brought into bondage, the right to detain their children in bondage follows as an indispensable consequence.

Thus we see, that the Slavery which exists in America, was founded in right.

Testimony of Rev. E. Hedding, D. D., Methodist.

The right to hold a slave is founded on this rule, 'Therefore, all things whatsoever ye would, that men should do to you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets.'—*Ch. Ad. and Journal, Oct. 20th, 1837.*

Testimony of Rev. G. W. Freeman, Episcopalian.

No man nor set of men in our day are entitled to pronounce it WRONG—and we may add that slavery, as it exists at the present day, IS AGREEABLE TO THE ORDER OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE.—*Sermon, Nov. 1836.*

The "Counter Appeal," Methodist.

The general rule of *Christianity not only permits, but in supposable circumstances, enjoins a continuance of the master's authority.*

We say then, that this text in Col. iii. 22—25, proves to a demonstration, that in the primitive Christian church at Colosse, under the Apostolic eye, and with the Apostolic sanction, *the relation of master and slave was permitted to subsist.*

1 Cor. vii. 20—23.

This text seems mainly to enjoin and sanction the fitting continuance of their present social relations; the freeman was to remain free, and the slave, unless emancipation should offer, *was to remain a slave.*

The New Testament, enjoins obedience upon the slave as an obligation due to a present rightful authority.

W. Fisk, John Lindsey, Bartholomew Otheman, Hezekiah S. Ramsdell, Edward T. Taylor, Jacob Sanborn, H. H. White.—March 27, 1835.

Testimony of Prof. Whedon, Methodist.

There were Christian or believing *slaveholders* in the [primitive] Christian church. Now whatever *δoulos* means, here (1 Tim. vi. 2) *despotai* are unequivocally slaveholders, who are brethren, faithful and beloved partakers of the [gospel] benefit.—*Zion's Herald of March 30, 1836.*

Testimony of the Rev. W. Fisk, D. D., Methodist.

The relation of master and slave, may and does, in many cases, exist, under such circumstances, as free the master from the just charge and guilt of immorality.—*Letter to Rev. T. Merritt.*

Testimony of Rev. N. Bangs, D. D., Methodist.

It appears evident, that however much the apostle might have deprecated SLAVERY as it then existed throughout the Roman empire, he did not feel it his duty, as an ambassador of Christ, to disturb those relations which subsisted between masters and servants by denouncing slavery as such a mortal sin that they could not be servants of Christ in such a relation.—*Christ. Ad. and Journal, No. 431.*

The foregoing extracts are not quoted here to prove that each of the authors of them designed to justify or defend slavery as a system. But we think

they do prove beyond a doubt, that the sentiment prevails very extensively throughout this nation, among professors of religion, ministers of the Gospel, presidents of colleges, &c. &c., that, the act of slaveholding is, not in itself, *sinful*; and consequently it follows, that a great change must take place in the views of this nation before slavery will ever be abolished.

CHAPTER XI.

PRACTICAL SLAVERY.

What is slavery in practice? Many suppose that it often exists under some peculiar "circumstances" which, some how or other, "free the slaveholder from the just charge and guilt of immorality." What those "peculiar circumstances" are, however, we are not told.

We have had many fine-spun theories on "slavery in the abstract;" but it matters but little to the poor slave what slavery is in the abstract, its practice, however, is every thing to him. Hence, we think it proper to give a few facts like the following, as a work of this kind might be justly considered incomplete without them. In reading the following items, let it be remembered, that they describe such cases, precisely, as are occurring in the midst of slavery, every day; slavery never did, and never will exist in any country, without perpetrating crimes like the following. We do not mean by this, that there are no enslavers who do not inflict corporeal cruelties upon the persons of their slaves, but we mean to say, that slavery cannot and never did exist without its *evils*, such as are here described.

The following items are selected from a most interesting work entitled, "Narrative of Charles Ball, who was forty years a slave in Maryland, South Carolina and Georgia." In reading these extracts, it should be remembered, that the story this slave tells of himself, is true to the life, and similar narratives might be given by thousands of others in this land who are now in chains, and not suffered to speak for themselves.

Separation of parents and children.

At the time I was sold I was quite naked, having never had any clothing in my life; but my new master had brought with him a child's frock, or wrapper, belonging to one of his own children—and after he purchased me, he dressed me in this garment, took me before him on his horse, and started home; but my poor mother, when she saw me leaving her for the last time, ran after me, took me down from the horse, clasped me in her arms, and wept loudly and bitterly over me. My master seemed to pity her, and endeavored to soothe her distress by telling her that he would be a good master to me, and that I should not want any thing. She then, still holding me in her arms, walked along the road beside the horse, as he moved slowly, and earnestly and imploringly besought my master to buy her and the rest of her children, and not permit them to be carried away by the negro buyers; but whilst thus entreating him to save her and her family, the slave-driver who had first bought her, came running in pursuit of her with a raw hide in his hand. When he overtook us, he told her he was her master now, and ordered her to give that little negro to its owner, and come back with him.

My mother then turned to him and cried—'Oh, master, do not take me from my child!' Without making any reply, he gave her two or three heavy blows on the shoulders with his raw hide, snatched me from her arms, handed me to my master, and seizing her by one arm, dragged her back towards the place of sale. My master then quickened the pace of his horse; and as we advanced, the cries of my poor parent became more and

more indistinct. At length, they died away in the distance, and I never again heard the voice of my poor mother. Young as I was, the horrors of that day sank deeply into my heart—and even at this time, though half a century has elapsed, the terrors of the scene return with painful vividness upon my memory. Frightened at the sight of the cruelties inflicted upon my poor mother, I forgot my own sorrows at parting from her, and clung to my new master as an angel and saviour, when compared with the hardened fiend into whose power she had fallen.—She had been a kind and good mother to me—had warmed me in her bosom in the cold nights of winter, and had often divided the scanty pittance of food allowed her by her mistress between my brothers, and sisters, and me, and gone supperless to bed herself. Whatever victuals she could obtain beyond the coarse food, salt fish, and corn bread allowed to slaves on the Patuxent and Potomac rivers, she carefully distributed among her children, and treated us with all the tenderness which her own miserable condition would permit. I have no doubt that she was chained and driven to Carolina, and toiled out the residue of a forlorn and famished existence in the rice swamps or indigo fields of the South.

My father never recovered from the effects of the shock which this sudden and overwhelming ruin of his family gave him. He had formerly been of a gay, social temper; and when he came to see us on a Saturday night, he always brought us a little present, such as the means of a poor slave would allow—apples, melons, sweet potatoes, or, if he could procure nothing else, a little parched corn, which tasted better in our cabin, because he had brought it.

Separation of Families.

My master kept a store at a small village on the bank of the Patuxent river, called B—, although he resided at some distance on a farm. One morning he rose early, and ordered me to take a yoke of oxen and go to the village, to bring home a cart which was there, saying he would follow me. He arrived at the village soon after I did, and took his breakfast with his store-keeper. He

then told me to come into the house and get my breakfast. Whilst I was eating in the kitchen, I observed him talking earnestly, but lowly, to a stranger near the kitchen door. I soon after went out, and hitched my oxen to the cart, and was about to drive off, when several men came round about me, and amongst them the stranger whom I had seen speaking with my master.—This man came up to me, and, seizing me by the collar, shook me violently, saying I was his property and must go with him to Georgia. At the sound of these words, the thoughts of my wife and children rushed across my mind—and my heart died away within me. I saw and knew that my case was hopeless, and that resistance was vain, as there were near twenty persons present, all of whom were ready to assist the man by whom I was kidnapped. I felt incapable of weeping or speaking, and in my despair I laughed loudly. My purchaser ordered me to cross my hands behind, which were quickly bound with a strong cord; and he then told me that we must set out that very day for the South. I asked if I could not be allowed to go to see my wife and children, or if this could not be permitted, if they might not have leave to come and see me—but was told that I would be able to get another wife in Georgia.

My new master, whose name I did not hear, took me that same day across the Patuxent, where I joined fifty-one other slaves, whom he had bought in Maryland. Thirty-two of these were men, and nineteen were women. The women were merely tied together with a rope about the size of a bed cord, which was tied like a halter round the neck of each; but the men, of whom I was the stoutest and strongest, were very differently caparisoned. A strong iron collar was strongly fitted by means of a padlock, round each of our necks. A chain of iron, about a hundred feet in length, was passed through the hasp of each padlock, except at the two ends, where the hasps of the padlocks passed through a link of the chain. In addition to this, we were handcuffed in pairs, with iron staples and bolts, with a short chain, about a foot long, uniting the handcuffs and their wearers in pairs. In this manner we were chained alternately by the right and left hand; and the poor man to whom I was thus

ironed, wept like an infant when the blacksmith, with his heavy hammer, fastened the ends of the bolts that kept the staples from slipping from our arms. For my own part, I felt indifferent to my fate. It appeared to me, that the worst had come, that could come, and that no change of fortune could harm me.

Feelings of a father.

Long after the subject of this narrative had been parted from his wife and children in Maryland, and had passed from one master to another, he was taken to a plantation in South Carolina, and directed to lodge in a cabin, which is thus described :—

I followed my new friend to his cabin, which I found to be the habitation of himself, his wife, and five children. The only furniture in this cabin consisted of a few blocks of wood for seats; a short bench, made of pine boards, which served as a table; and a small bed in one corner, composed of a mat, made of common rushes, spread upon some corn husks, pulled and split into fine pieces, and kept together by a narrow slip of wood, confined to the floor by wooden pins. There was a common iron pot standing beside the chimney, and several wooden spoons and dishes hung against the wall. Several blankets also hung against the wall upon wooden pins. An old box, made of pine boards, without either lock or hinges, occupied one corner.

At the time I entered this humble abode, the mistress was not at home. She had not yet returned from the field—having been sent, as the husband informed me, with some other people, late in the evening, to do some work in a field about two miles distant. I found a child about a year old, lying on the mat bed, and a little girl about four years old sitting beside it.

These children were entirely naked, and when we came to the door, the elder rose from its place and ran to its father, and clasping him around one of his knees, said, 'Now we shall get good supper.' The father laid his hand upon the head of his naked child, and stood silently looking in its face—which was turned upwards to-

wards his own for a moment—and then turning to me, said, ‘Did you leave any children at home?’ The scene before me—the question propounded—and the manner of this poor man and his child, caused my heart to swell until my breast seemed too small to contain it. My soul fled back upon the wings of fancy to my wife’s lowly dwelling in Maryland—where I had been so often met on a Saturday evening, when I had paid them my weekly visit, by my own little ones, who clung to my knees for protection and support, even as the poor little wretch now before me seized upon the weary limb of its hapless and destitute father, hoping that, naked as he was, (for he, too was naked, save only the tattered remains of a pair of old trousers,) he would bring with his return at evening its customary scanty supper. I was unable to reply, but stood motionless, leaning against the walls of the cabin. My children seemed to flit by the door in the dusky twilight; and the twittering of a swallow, which that moment fluttered over my head, sounded in my ear as the infantile tittering of my own little boy; but on a moments reflection, I knew that we were separated without the hope of ever again meeting—that they no more heard the welcome tread of my feet, and could never again receive the little gifts with which, poor as I was, I was accustomed to present them. I was far from the place of my nativity, in a land of strangers, with no one to care for me beyond the care that a master bestows upon his ox—with all my future life one long, waste, barren desert, of cheerless, hopeless slavery, to be varied only by the pangs of hunger, and the stings of the lash.

A slave mother.

As we went out in the morning, I observed several women, who carried their young children in their arms to the field. These mothers laid their children at the side of the fence, or under the shade of the cotton plants, whilst they were at work; and when the rest of us went to get water, they would go to give suck to their children, requesting some one to bring them water in gourds, which they were careful to carry to the field with them. One young woman did not, like the others, leave her

child at the end of the row, but had contrived a sort of rude knapsack, made of a piece of coarse linen cloth, in which she fastened her child, which was very young, upon her back—and in this way carried it all day, and performed her task at the hoe with the other people.

I pitied this woman; and as we were going home at night, I came near her, and spoke to her. Perceiving as soon as she spoke, that she had not been brought up amongst the slaves of this plantation—for her language was different from theirs—I asked her why she did not do as the other women did, and leave her child at the end of the row in the shade. 'Indeed,' said she, 'I cannot leave my child in the weeds amongst the snakes. What would be my feelings if I should leave it there, and a scorpion were to bite it? Besides, my child cries so piteously when I leave it alone in the field, that I cannot bear to hear it. Poor thing! I wish we were both in the grave, where all sorrow is forgotten.'

I asked this woman, who did not appear to be more than twenty years old, how long she had been here, and where she came from. 'I have been here,' said she, 'almost two years—and came from the Eastern Shore. I once lived as well as any lady in Maryland. I was born a slave in the family of a gentleman whose name was Le Compt. My master was a man of property—lived on his estate, and entertained much company. My mistress, who was very kind to me, made me her nurse, when I was about ten years old, and put me to live with her own children. I grew up amongst her daughters, not as their equal and companion, but as a favored and indulged servant. I was always well dressed, and received a portion of all the delicacies of their table. I wanted nothing, and had not the trouble of providing even for myself. I believe there was not a happier being in the world than I was. At present, none can be more wretched.'

After giving an account of previous hardships and perils, and how she was finally kidnapped and carried off, she thus concludes her story:

'When we commenced our journey for the South, we were about sixty in number. The men were chained together, but the women were all left quite at liberty.

At the end of three weeks, we reached Savannah river, opposite the town of Augusta, where we were sold out by our owner. Our present master was there, and purchased me and another woman, who has been at work in the field to-day.

Soon after I was brought home, the overseer compelled me to be married to a man I did not like. He is a native of Africa, and still retains the manners and religion of his country. He has not been with us to-day, as he is sick, and under the care of the doctor. I must hasten home to get my supper, and go to rest—and glad I should be, if I were never to rise again.

I have several times been whipped unmercifully, because I was not strong enough to do as much work with the hoe as the other women who have lived all their lives on this plantation, and have been accustomed from their infancy to work in the field.

For a long time after I was brought here, I thought it would be impossible for me to live on the coarse and scanty food with which we are supplied. When I contrast my former happiness with my present misery, I pray for death to deliver me from my sufferings.

The narrative gives an account of the death of this poor woman, which took place soon after the conversation above described.

Flogging.

Two slaves had been convicted and hanged for murder: the following punishment was dealt out to one who happened to be in the house at the time the murder was committed:—

I had often seen black men whipped, and had always, when the lash was applied with great severity, heard the sufferer cry out and beg for mercy—but in this case, the pain inflicted by the double blows of the hickory was so intense, that Billy never uttered so much as a groan; and I do not believe he breathed for the space of two minutes after he received the first strokes. He shrank his body close to the trunk of the tree, around

which his arms and legs were lashed, drew his shoulders up to his head, like a dying man, and trembled, or rather shivered, in all his members. The blood flowed from the commencement, and in a few minutes lay in small puddles at the root of the tree. I saw flakes of flesh as long as my finger, fall out of the gashes in his back; and I believe he was insensible during all the time that he was receiving the last two hundred lashes. When the whole five hundred lashes had been counted by the person appointed to perform this duty, the half dead body was unbound, and laid in the shade of the tree upon which I sat. The gentlemen who had done the whipping, eight or ten in number, being joined by their friends, then came under the tree, and drank punch until their dinner was made ready, under a booth of green boughs, at a short distance.

Cat-hawling.

A whole gang of slaves had been flogged to make one of them confess that he had stolen a hog. Finally, one was fixed upon as the culprit, and the following method taken for his punishment:—

A boy was then ordered to get up, run to the house, and bring a cat, which was soon produced. The cat, which was a large grey tom-cat, was then taken by the well-dressed gentleman, and placed upon the bare back of the prostrate black man, near the shoulders, and forcibly dragged by the tail down the back, and along the bare thighs of the sufferer. The cat sunk his nails into the flesh, and tore off pieces of the skin with his teeth. The man roared with the pain of this punishment, and would have rolled along the ground, had he not have been held in his place by the force of four other slaves, each one of whom confined a hand or a foot. As soon as the cat was drawn from him, the man said he would tell who stole the hog, and confessed that he and several others, three of whom were then holding, had stolen the hog—killed, dressed, and eaten it. In return for this confession, the overseer said he should have another touch of the cat, which was again drawn along his back, not as before, from the head downwards, but from below

the hips to the head. The man was then permitted to rise, and each of those who had been named by him as a participator in stealing the hog, was compelled to lie down, and have the cat twice drawn along his back—first downwards, and then upwards. After the termination of this punishment, each of the sufferers was washed with salt water by a black woman, and they were then all dismissed.

This was the most excruciating punishment that I ever saw inflicted on black people—and, in my opinion, it is very dangerous, for the claws of the cat are poisonous, and wounds made by them are very subject to inflammation.

Method of capturing runaways.

Occasionally, armed parties of whites go in pursuit of them, who make no secret of their determination to shoot down all that refuse to surrender—which they sometimes do. In one instance a negro who was closely pursued, instead of heeding the order to surrender, waded into a shallow pond beyond the reach of his pursuers; refusing still to yield, he was shot through the heart by one of the party. This occurred near Natchez, but no notice was taken of it by the civil authorities; but in this they were consistent, for the city patrols or night watch are allowed to do the same thing with impunity, though it is authorized by no law.

Another mode of capturing runaways is by blood-hounds; this I hope is rarely done. An instance was related to me in Clairborne Co., Miss. A runaway was heard about the house in the night. The hound was put upon his track, and in the morning was found watching the dead body of the negro. The dogs are trained to this service while young. A negro is directed to go into the woods, and secure himself upon a tree. When sufficient time has elapsed for doing this, the hound is put upon his track. The blacks also are compelled to worry them till they make them their implacable enemies; and it is common to meet with dogs, which will take no notice of whites, though entire strangers, but will suffer no black beside the house servants to enter the yard. Captured runaways are confined in jail till claimed by

their owners. If they are not claimed within the time prescribed by law, they are sold at public sale, and in the mean time are employed as scavengers with a heavy ball and chain fastened to one of their ancles.—*N. Y. Evangelist*, Jan. 31. 1835.

Shocking Barbarities.

Yesterday at about ten o'clock, the dwelling house of a Mr. Lalaurie, corner Royal and Hospital streets, was discovered to be on fire, and whilst the engines were occupied in extinguishing it, it was rumored, that several slaves were kept chained in some of the apartments. The crowd rushed in to their deliverance, and amongst others, Mr. Canonge, Judge of the criminal court, who demanded of Mr. and Mrs. Lalaurie, where these poor creatures were kept, which they obstinately refused to disclose, when Mr. Canonge with a manly and praiseworthy zeal rushed into the kitchen, which was on fire, followed by two or three young men, and brought forth a negro woman, found there chained. She was covered with bruises and wounds from severe flogging. All the apartments were then forced open. In a room on the ground floor, two more were found chained and in a deplorable condition. Upstairs and in the garret, four more were found chained, some so weak as to be unable to walk, and all covered with wounds and sores. One, a mulatto boy, declares himself to have been chained for five months, being fed daily with only a handful of meal, and receiving every morning the most cruel treatment. One of the poor slaves was rotten with sores, and in them were found numbers of living creatures.—*New Orleans Mercantile Advertiser*.

Burning alive.

TUSCALOOSA, Ala.

Some time during the last week, one of those outrageous transactions, and we really think disgraceful to the character of civilized man, took place near the north-east boundary line of Perry, adjoining Bibb and Antauga counties. The circumstances, we are informed by a gentleman from that county, are that a Mr. McNeilly having lost some clothing or other property of no

great value, the slave of a neighboring planter was charged with the theft. McNeilly in company with his brother, found the negro driving his master's wagon; they seized him, and either did, or were about to chastise him, when the negro stabbed McNeilly, so that he died in an hour afterwards. The negro was taken before a justice of the peace, who after serious deliberation waived his authority, perhaps through fear, as the crowd of persons from the above counties had collected to the number of seventy or eighty men near Mr. People's, the Justice's house. He acted as president of the mob, and put the vote, when it was decided he should be immediately executed by BEING BURNT TO DEATH. The sable culprit was led to a tree and tied to it, and a large quantity of pine knots collected and placed around him; and the fatal torch applied to the pile even against the remonstrances of several gentlemen who were present, and the miserable being was in a short time burnt to ashes.

This is the second negro, who has been thus burnt to death, without judge or jury in that county.

On the 23th of April, 1836, a negro was burnt alive at St. Louis by a numerous mob. The Alton Telegraph gives the following particulars:—

All was silent as death. While the executioners were piling wood around the victim he said not a word. Probably feeling that the flames had seized upon him, he uttered an awful howl, attempting to sing and pray: he then hung his head and suffered in silence, excepting in the following instance. After the flames had surrounded their prey, and when his clothes were in a blaze all over him, his eyes burnt out of his head, and his mouth seemingly parched to a cinder, some one in the crowd, more compassionate than the rest, proposed to put an end to his misery by shooting him, when it was replied, that would be of no use, since he was already out of pain. 'No! no!' said the wretch, 'I am not—I am suffering as much as ever. Shoot me, shoot me!' No, no, said one of his friends, who was standing about the sacrifice they were roasting, he shall not be shot. I would sooner slacken the fire if that would increase his misery. And the man who said this was, we understand, an officer of justice.

We understand, says the New Orleans Post of June the 7th, 1836, that a negro man was lately condemned by the mob to be BURNED OVER A SLOW FIRE, which was put into execution at Grand Gulf, Mi., for murdering a black woman and her master, Mr. Green, a respectable citizen of that place, who attempted to save her from the clutches of this monster.

We have been informed, says the Arkansas Gazette of the 29th Oct. 1836, that the slave William, who murdered his master (*Huskey*) some weeks since, and several negroes, was taken by a party a few days since from the sheriff of Hotspring and BURNED ALIVE! Yes, tied up to the limb of a tree, a fire built under him and consumed in a slow and lingering torture.

Separation of a Wife from her Husband and Children.

Sabbath, 29th July, I went to three places of worship, and heard most excellent preaching and fervent praying; but, among all these ministers and members, no prayer was offered for the poor slaves. But all seemed to be as happy as though the millennial day had ushered in.

Nothing had occurred up to this time to mar my happiness, or to make my visit unpleasant—and if I had left Philadelphia, then, I should have entertained my family and friends, on my return home, by relating to them the beauty, the regularity, and the splendor of this great city. But, it was otherwise; and I have now to relate one of the most painful, as well as most disgraceful transactions that my eyes ever witnessed, the thoughts of which make my bloodchill and my heart sick.

On the first of August, as I was walking in Chesnut-street, near the Court House, I saw many people, both white and colored, going in. I inquired the cause, and was told that a person claimed as a fugitive was to be tried. I went in; but, the person claimed as *property* had been tried, and the Judge was about to deliver his opinion. The house was filled—and all seemed to be waiting with the deepest anxiety. Soon the door opened, and the Sheriff entered, followed by a *female*, whose appearance was that of a *white* lady; she was in *delicate* circumstances—was leaning upon the arm of *her husband*; they

advanced slowly, and with great anxiety upon their countenances, and took their seats, with their eyes fixed on the judge. All was silent as the grave.

The judge now commenced with the testimony, which was, that this woman came to this city about five years ago—that during this time she was married—that she was the mother of one male child, which was said to be *entirely white*, and was now about two years old. After going through all the testimony, he seemed to come to a pause. This was a moment of awful suspense to this innocent female, as she sat trembling and pale, supported by her husband. Soon the judge broke silence, by pronouncing her a *slave*. No sooner had the words fallen from his lips, 'I must give a warrant to take you back,' than she screamed and fell on the floor—her cries might have been heard far off, 'O, my child, my child;—O, my dear, dear husband, *I cannot, cannot leave you.*' While her husband appeared to be trying to comfort her, and was attempting to raise her up, with eyes streaming with grief, I heard a voice, saying, 'Take her to jail.' She was immediately surrounded by a number of officers, taken up—put into a close carriage, and hurried off, uttering the most heart-rending cries that ever fell upon my ears. I turned aside to give vent to my feelings in a flood of tears.—*Zion's Watchman of Sept. 2, 1837.*

But it would far transcend the proper limits of this little work to give a thousandth part of the facts which might be adduced under this head. The foregoing, however, are sufficient to show the reader what American slavery is in the concrete—the wrongs which millions of our countrymen are liable to be doomed to suffer every day, without any redress, or even the privilege of complaining.

"Let sorrow bathe each blushing cheek,
Bend piteous o'er the tortured slave,
Whose wrongs compassion cannot speak,
Whose only refuge is the grave."

CHAPTER XII.

IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION.

We mean by this,

1. That the slave owner, so far as he is personally concerned, should *cease immediately* to hold or to use human beings as his *property*. And is there one slave owner in the nation who cannot do this? If there be one, then he must be set down as *non compos mentis*, or an idiot. Every intelligent being in the universe of God, can do right; and no man in the world can be compelled by law, or circumstances, to do wrong.

2. That the master, so far as he is personally concerned, should immediately offer to employ those whom he has held as his property, as free hired laborers; he should not turn them loose upon society, uncared for and unprotected, but he should treat them as *men*, and give them the liberty of choice, whether to remain in his employ at fair wages, or not.

3. So far as the State is concerned, it should annihilate the right of man to hold man as property; and all who are now slaves should be *immediately brought under the protection and restraint of suitable and impartial laws*. But the want of action on the part of any State government should not, and need not, hinder any one from doing his duty as above described, any more than the want of laws in Massachusetts should hinder any one from ceasing to manufacture and use intoxicating liquors. Laws will be enacted for the suppression of intemperance in each of the States, just as soon as the habits of the people and public opinion call for them; nor indeed would they be of much use, were they to be

enacted before this; and just so with regard to slavery, when the habits of the people, and public opinion are sufficiently set against the sin of slaveholding, the States where slavery exists will commence legislation upon the subject.

CHAPTER XIII.

EXPLANATION.

Emancipation from slavery does not confer the right of suffrage, but we contend that colored persons should be allowed its exercise, as soon as they possess the qualifications required of other citizens. They should also be aided and countenanced in their endeavors, by moral and intellectual culture, to become respectable and useful members of society.

We do not ask that they shall be harassed, and the country burdened by an oppressive and vexatious system of apprenticeship for grown men, as in Jamaica—but that they shall be employed as free laborers and paid equal and just wages, as in Bermuda and Antigua, where they are industrious and happy, and their employers safe and prosperous.

By the abolition of slavery we mean simply the repeal of the iniquitous slave code—the abolition of the unrighteous things wherein slavery consists—the restoration of men from the condition of 'chattels' to the condition of rational beings. If there are any reasons why this abolition should not take place *now*, they are reasons which will be equally valid, in all *future* time. And they are reasons urged against the inalienable rights of man, and the immutable laws of God!—*R. I. A. Slavery Convention.*

CHAPTER XIV.

FACTS DEMONSTRATING THE SAFETY OF
IMMEDIATE AND UNCONDITIONAL
EMANCIPATION.

To say that immediate emancipation is not safe, is to say that it is not safe for human beings to obey their Creator.

To deny the safety of immediate emancipation, is to doubt the first principles of common sense—the operations of moral cause and effect—and the testimony of universal experience and history. The writings of Clarkson and Stewart have triumphantly established this point, and the world has been challenged in vain to produce an instance of starvation or bloodshed, in consequence of emancipation.

To say that immediate emancipation is not *safe*, is to say that it is not safe for *human beings to be free*! It is to say, what the despots of all ages and nations have said, and still say—that the *laboring classes of mankind* are incapable of self-government, and ought to be kept under the control of their superiors!—*R. I. A. Convention.*

St. Domingo.

A civil war broke out in this Island, in June, 1793, between the republicans and planters. The latter called in the aid of Great Britain; upon which the republicans proclaimed immediate freedom to about six hundred thousand slaves, and armed them against their foes. No evil consequence followed; every thing went on prosperously till eight years afterwards, when the French planters attempted to reduce the blacks again to slavery.

Gaudaloupe.

In 1794, eighty-five thousand slaves were set free in this Island, where there was a population of only thirteen thousand whites. No disasters followed.

Republic of Colombia.

All the slaves who had fought for this republic were emancipated in 1821.

Slavery was abolished in Mexico in 1829. No insurrection followed as the consequence.

Cape Colony.

Thirty thousand Hottentots were emancipated here in 1823, with perfect safety.

British West Indies.

It would much exceed our limits to give a minute account of emancipation in each of these islands. On the 1st of August, 1834, the British Parliament emancipated eight hundred thousand slaves in the dependencies of that government. In each of the islands except Antigua and Bermuda, a system of apprenticeship was adopted: but in these, thirty-four thousand six hundred and fifty slaves were set instantly and unconditionally free, and not the slightest difficulty has followed.

In the other islands, which adopted a gradual system of emancipation, the slaves have not done as well as those who were set unconditionally free, but in no island has any thing occurred to confirm the fears entertained by the slaveholders on setting their slaves free. And hence we may boldly affirm, that the experiment which has now been tried for three years in the West India Islands, demonstrates to the civilized world, the duty, the safety of immediate, unconditional, and universal emancipation.

Testimony of twenty-four Wesleyan Missionaries.

Resolutions passed at a meeting of the Wesleyan Missionaries of the Antigua District, assembled at St. Johns, Antigua, Feb. 7, 1837.

1. That the emancipation of the slaves of the West Indies, while it was an act of undoubted justice to that

oppressed people, has operated most favorably in furthering the triumphs of the gospel, by removing one prolific source of unmerited suspicion of religious teachers, and thus opening a door to their more extensive labors and usefulness—by furnishing a greater portion of time for the service of the negro, and thus preventing the continuance of unavoidable Sabbath desecrations, in labor and neglect of the means of grace—and in its operations as a stimulus to proprietors and other influential gentlemen, to encourage religious education and the wide dissemination of the Scriptures, as an incentive to industry and good order.

2. That while the above statements are true with reference to all the islands, even where the system of apprenticeship prevails, they are especially applicable to Antigua, where the results of the great measure of *entire freedom*, so humanely and judiciously granted by the legislature, cannot be contemplated without the most devout thanksgivings to almighty God.

(Signed)

JAMES COX, *Chairman,*
And twenty-four others.

CHAPTER IV.

FACTS DEMONSTRATING THE DANGER OF CONTINUED SLAVERY.

1712. Insurrection in New York.

1. In 1712, a plot was formed by a number of slaves in New York, to obtain their liberty by massacring the whites. They killed a number of persons, and eighteen of them were put to death for rebellion.

1720. Murder in South Carolina.

2. A Mr. Cottle, a negro boy, and a white woman were murdered, in South Carolina, in 1720. Three slaves suffered death as the consequence.

1728. Insurrection in Savannah.

3. An insurrection in Savannah, Ga., in 1718, by the slaves. They were fired upon twice. Their design was to destroy all the whites in order to obtain their liberty.

1729. Insurrection in Antigua.

4. A plot was formed in 1729, by the slaves in Antigua, to destroy the whites. Three of the conspirators were taken and *burnt alive*.

1730. Insurrection in Virginia.

5. An insurrection of the slaves occurred in Virginia, in 1730. Five counties were in arms with orders to kill all the blacks who refused to submit.

1730. Insurrection in South Carolina.

6. In August of the same year the slaves in South Carolina, conspired to destroy all the whites, in order to obtain their liberty.

1737. Murder on shipboard.

7. In 1731, three of the crew of a Capt. Scott, of R. I. were murdered on board the ship in which they were returning from Guinea with a cargo of slaves.

1733. Murder on shipboard.

8. The next year a Capt. Major of N. H., was murdered with the whole of his crew, by the slaves which he had on board.

1734. Insurrection in Pennsylvania.

9. In 1734, an insurrection broke out among the slaves in Burlington, Pa.

1735. Ship Dolphin blown up.

10. The ship Dolphin, of London, was blown up in 1735, by the slaves on board : the whole on board perished.

1739. Three Insurrections in South Carolina.

11. Three bloody insurrections occurred in S. Carolina, in the year 1739. In one of them which took place in September, twenty-five whites and thirty-four slaves were killed, and others *gibbeted alive*.

1740. Insurrection in South Carolina.

12. The next year another insurrection occurred in the same place, and twenty persons were killed.

1741. Dreadful insurrection in New York.

13. In 1741, a dreadful insurrection broke out among the slaves in the state of New York. Of the conspirators, thirteen were *burned alive*, eighteen hung, and eighty *colonized*, in the West Indies.

1747. Murders committed on shipboard.

14. In 1747, the Captain and all the crew, except two, of a slave ship belonging to R. Island, were murdered by the slaves on board. Their desire was freedom.

1754. Two women burned alive in South Carolina.

15. In June, 1754, two women were burnt alive in Charleston, S. C., for setting fire to a building. Their object was to obtain their freedom.

1755. Two men put to death in Massachusetts.

16. In September, 1755, two slaves were put to death in Cambridge, Mass., for poisoning their master, in order to get their freedom.

1761. Insurrection in Jamaica.

17. In October, 1761, an insurrection took place among the slaves in Jamaica. We have heard of no insurrection in that island since the slaves were *set free*.

1761. Insurrection in Bermuda.

18. The same year the slaves in Bermuda rebelled, and threatened to destroy all their masters. Two of the conspirators were put to death; one was hanged and one *burnt alive*.

1761. Murders on shipboard.

19. Forty slaves were killed on board an enslaver, commanded by Capt. Nichols of Boston, Mass., in 1761.

1791. Horrors of St. Domingo.

20. The horrors of St. Domingo are often referred to. But the great massacres, which make so frightful a picture in the history of this island, occurred in 1791 and 92, before the emancipation of the slaves had been even contemplated; and these were caused by the planters and not by the slaves. The sudden emancipation of five hundred thousand slaves, in this Island, put an end to the civil war which had been raging with dreadful fury for more than two years. "The Colony," says Lacroix, "marched as by enchantment towards its ancient splendor; cultivation prospered; and every day produced perceptible proof of its progress. The

blacks were peaceable, the colony flourished and no evil consequences followed emancipation, till eight years after when Buonaparte attempted to reduce the blacks again to a state of slavery." Then it was that the scenes of carnage and bloodshed followed, on the account of which we are so frequently told to "look to St. Domingo;" and this, too, when every person acquainted with its history knows that those scenes were caused by the cruel attempt to *reduce free men to a state of slavery.*

1822. Thirty-five persons put to death in S. C.

21. In July, 1822, thirty-five slaves were put to death in S. C. for an attempt to gain their liberty.

1825. A man burned alive in S. Carolina,

22. A negro slave named William, is stated in a S. C. paper to have been *burned alive* near Greenville, S. C., for the murder of a white man.—*Phil. Gaz.*, Aug. 1825.

23. In 1826, sixty slaves were put to death in Newbern, S. C. for the same cause.

1831. Insurrection at Southampton, Va.

24. The insurrection in Southampton county, Va., is remembered, probably by the most of my readers. It occurred in 1831, and was headed by Nat. Turner, a slave, and member of the Baptist church. Upwards of sixty-four persons lost their lives in that dreadful commotion.

The following was narrated by the Rev. M. B. Cox, late Missionary to Liberia, soon after the event occurred :

Immediately after the insurrection above named, a slaveholder went into the woods, in quest of some of the insurgents, accompanied by a faithful slave,

who had been the means of saving his life in time of the massacre. When they had been some time in the woods, the slave handed his musket to his master, informing him at the same time, that he could not live a slave any longer, and requested him either to set him free or shoot him on the spot. The master took the gun from the hands of the slave, leveled it at his breast, and shot the faithful negro through the heart.

Summary of events in 1832.

25. The following occurrences are set down to the credit of slavery for the year 1832. Could one half the evils here enumerated, be traced to an instance of general and immediate emancipation, it would be thought abundantly sufficient to decide the question between us and our opponents.

William, a slave in Charleston, S. C., executed for wounding two white men.

A runaway slave, to prevent being arrested, drowned himself at New Orleans.

Mulatto man Philip, hung at the South for the murder of Mrs. Fayat.

The slave of R. Felton, Esq. of N. C. murdered by another slave.

Two slaves hung at Petersburg, Va., for breaking open a counting room.

Three slaves hung in Rowan Co. N. C.—Newton and Daniel, for burning a barn and five horses, and Charles for drowning a child of Alexander Nelly, 2 years old.

Discovery of a conspiracy amongst the slaves of Martinique, having for its object the destruction of the white inhabitants of that Island.

A Mrs. Marks, a widow, living near Claiborne, Alabama, murdered by her own slave.

A runaway slave hung at Charleston, S. C. for murdering Prince, a slave belonging to Col. Hunt by whipping him to death.

The overseer of a plantation in the island of Santa Cruz, called Golden Grove, belonging to a citizen of Boston, murdered by three slaves for violating the chastity of their wives. The slaves shot like dogs.

A runaway slave, belonging to a Mr. Walker of Perry county, Alabama, caught, tied to a horse, and run to death, by his master.

A slave about to be separated from his wife and children, threw himself from a steam-boat into the Ohio river, and was drowned.

A Mr. Coleman murdered at the South by two of his own slaves.

More than fifty persons at Bishopville, S. C. belonging to the Union Party, poisoned at a celebration on the 4th of July, by the cook infusing arsenic into the food. None died. The instigator of this foul deed, a slave, hung.

John Puryear, a planter, living in Athens, Ga., murdered his overseer.

A Miss Denton murdered by a slave near Lancasterville, S. C.

A Mr. Murphy killed in Florence, Alabama, by a slave, for chastising the wife of the slave in his presence. Slave hung.

Andrew Young, and his wife, of Montgomery county, Alabama, both murdered in a shocking manner by one of their slaves.

Three slave vessels captured by British cruisers, which had originally 1100 slaves on board, but of which they succeeded in taking only 306 to Sierra Leone. The kidnappers threw overboard 180 slaves, manacled together, four of whom only were picked up.

A conspiracy discovered among the slaves in Fayetteville, Tennessee. Their object, it was said, was to set fire to some building, and amidst the confusion of the citizens, to sieze as many guns and implements of destruction as they could procure, and

commence a general massacre.—Many of them suffered horrible punishments.

Another conspiracy discovered among two gold mining companies of slaves in North Carolina. Their plan was to commence at the gold mines, and kill all the whites there : thence one company was to go to Rutherfordton, the other to Morganton, and take the towns. There they expected to get arms and amunition to carry on their operations.

A female slave hung in Norfolk for poisoning two colored women.

Henry Isbell, of Bean Creek, Fairfield District, S. C., on receiving doubtful information that two runaway slaves were in the lane leading to his house, in the evening, went forth with gun and dogs to destroy them. He deliberately fired at one of them, and killed him. Instead of a slave, the victim proved to be a friend and neighbor of the murderer !

A colored man, named Thomas Mitchell, who had resided as a freeman two or three years in Ohio, on being seized by his master, precipitated himself from the fourth story of one of the hotels in Cincinnati, in which he had been put for safe keeping, and expired in a few hours.

A general insurrection of the slaves in Jamaica. One hundred and fifty plantations were burnt, between two and three thousand slaves killed, and a large number of whites ; and the whole loss occasioned by the rebellion and attempts to suppress it, valued at five millions of dollars.

But it were useless to multiply facts of this kind. The reader is referred for further information upon this subject to Holme's Annals, and also to Lectures on slavery by Rev. A. A. Phelps.

The above must be sufficient to convince any mind susceptible of conviction, that the greatest

danger arises, not from freedom granted, but from freedom withheld.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE U. STATES A SLAVEHOLDING NATION.

Thousands of Americans now enslaved in the United States.

1. More than twenty thousand Americans are now held in slavery, by the laws of Congress, in the Territories and District of Columbia.

On the 23d December, 1788, Maryland passed an act, to cede to the Congress "any district in the State, not exceeding ten miles square, which the Congress may fix upon, and accept for the seat of government of the United States."

A similar act was passed by Virginia, on the 3d of December, 1789, in these words—

And the same is hereby forever ceded to the Congress and Government of the United States, *in full and absolute right*, and EXCLUSIVE JURISDICTION as well of *soil* as of persons residing or to reside thereon, pursuant to the *tenor* and EFFECT of the eighth section of the first article of the Constitution.

Accordingly, on the 16th of July, the year following, Congress accepted the cession of Maryland and Virginia, and passed a law which ordained, that the existing laws of those two States should remain in force "until Congress shall otherwise provide."

Hence, by that very act, Congress established slavery in the "ten miles square," because it not only refused to revoke those laws of Maryland and

Virginia, by which slavery had been established there before, but it ordained that they should *remain* in force till Congress should repeal them. The following is an extract from one of these laws; it is true, it has been repealed in Maryland, but it "**REMAINS**" in full force in the District of Columbia to this day :

Every sheriff that now hath, or hereafter shall have, committed into his custody, any runaway servants or slaves, after one month's notice given to the master or owner thereof, of their being in his custody, if living in this province, or two months' notice if living in any of the neighboring provinces, if such master or owner of such servants or slaves do not appear within the time limited as aforesaid, and pay or secure to be paid, all such imprisonment fees due to such sheriff from the time of the commitment of such servants or slaves, and also such other charges as have accrued or become due to any person for taking up such runaway servants or slaves, such sheriff is hereby authorized and required (such time limited as aforesaid, being expired,) immediately to give public notice to all persons, by setting up notes at the church and court-house doors of the county where such servant or slave is in custody; of the time and place for sale of such servants or slaves, by him to be appointed, not less than 10 days after such time limited as aforesaid being expired, and at such time and place by him appointed, as aforesaid, *to proceed to sell and dispose of such servant or slave to the highest bidder*, and out of the money or tobacco which such servant or slave is sold for, *to pay himself* all such IMPRISONMENT FEES as are his just due, for the time he has kept such servant or slave in his custody, and also pay such other charges, fees or reward as has become due to any person for taking up such runaway servant or slave, and after such payments made, if any residue shall remain of the money or tobacco such servant or slave was sold for, such sheriff shall only be accountable to the master or owner of such servant or slave for such residue or remainder as aforesaid and not otherwise.— *Laws of Maryland, act of 1719, (May session,) chap. 2.*

And that this barbarous law is not a dead letter, there is abundant evidence to prove. In a memorial of the inhabitants of the District of Columbia, signed by one thousand of the most respectable citizens of the District, and presented to Congress March 24, 1828, then referred to the Committee on the District, and on the motion of Mr. Hubbard of New Hampshire, Feb. 9, 1835, ordered to be printed, the following statement is introduced :

A colored man, who states that he was entitled to freedom, was taken up as a runaway slave, and lodged in the jail of Washington City. He was advertised, but no one appearing to claim him, he was, according to law, put up at public auction for the payment of his jail fees, and **SOLD AS A SLAVE FOR LIFE**. He was purchased by a slave-trader, who was not required to give security for his remaining in the District, and he was soon shipped at Alexandria for one of the southern states. An attempt was made by some benevolent individuals to have the sale postponed until his claim to freedom could be investigated; but their efforts were unavailing; and thus was a human being **SOLD INTO PERPETUAL BONDAGE**, at the capital of the freest government on earth, without even a pretence of trial, or an allegation of crime.

According to the testimony of Mr. Miner of Penn. in Congress, in 1829, there were no less than five persons thus sold, in the year 1826-7.

Special recognition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

2. Slavery in the District of Columbia, has been acknowledged, and its existence recognized there by *special* laws of the United States.

June 12, 1834, a bill was passed by the House of Representatives, giving the right to Edward Brooke, a resident of the District, to bring into it two slaves, and retain them as his property. This bill passed by a vote of 106 to 47.

Slavery perpetuated by the property of the United States.

3. The property of the United States' Government is used to perpetuate slavery and the slave trade in this country. In 1826, Congress appropriated out of the public treasury \$5000 "for the purpose of altering and repairing the jail in the city of Washington," and \$10,000 to build "a county jail for the city and county of Alexandria."

For what purposes those prisons are used, the following notices will show:—

Notice.

Was committed to the prison of Washington Co. D.C., on the 19th day of May, 1834, as a runaway, a negro man who calls himself DAVID PECK. He is 5 feet 8 inches high. Had on, when committed, a check shirt, linen pantaloons, and straw hat. *He says he is free, and belongs to Baltimore. The owner or owners, are hereby requested to come forward, prove him, and take him away, or he will be sold for his prison and other expenses, as the LAW DIRECTS.*

JAMES WILLIAMS,

Keeper of the Prison of Washington Co., D. C.

FOR ALEXANDER HUNTER, M. D. C.

The above is but a specimen. One keeper of the jail in Washington has stated that in five years, upwards of *four hundred and fifty* colored persons had been lodged there for safe keeping, i. e. until they could be disposed of in the course of the slave trade;—besides nearly three hundred, who had been taken up and lodged there as runaways.

Revenue received by the General Government from Slavery.

4. The government of this nation receives a constant revenue, for licenses granted to slave dealers in the District of Columbia.

"For a license to trade or traffic in slaves for profit, whether as agent or otherwise, *four hundred dollars.*"—

The Register to "deposit all monies received from taxes imposed by this act to the credit of the Canal Fund.—*City Laws, p. 249. Approved by Congress, July, 1831.*

Internal slave trade tolerated by Congress.

5. Congress has "power to regulate commerce between the states," and consequently it has control of the domestic slave trade, which is constantly producing such an awful amount of misery, and yet it refuses to abolish this nefarious traffic.—*Constitution U. States, Art. 1. Sec. 8.*

Slavery is protected by the United States' Army.

6. An officer of the United States' army who was in the expedition from fortress Monroe, against the Southampton slaves, in 1831, speaks with constant horror of the scenes which he was compelled to witness. Those troops, agreeably to their orders, which were to exterminate the negroes, killed all that they met with, although they encountered neither resistance, nor show of resistance; and the first check given to this wide barbarous slaughter grew out of the fact, that the law of Virginia, which provides for the payment to the master of the full value of an executed slave, was considered as not applying to the cases of slaves put to death without trial. In consequence of numerous representations to this effect, sent to the officer of the United States' army commanding the expedition, the massacre was suspended.—*Child's Oration.*

In 1832, a company of U. S. troops were ordered to Newbern, N. C. to keep the slaves in awe, at the request of many ladies made to the President.

Free-born Americans reduced to slavery by the United States' laws.

7. Laws are now in force, enacted by Congress by which *free-born citizens* of this republic are reduced to slavery.

In 1820, the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress as-

sembled, empowered the corporation of the city of Washington "to prescribe the terms and conditions upon which free negroes and mulattoes may reside in the city." On this authority, in May, 1827, that corporation enacted that "every free negro or mulatto, whether male or female, who may come to the city of Washington to reside, shall within thirty days, exhibit to the Mayor satisfactory evidence of his or her title to freedom to be recorded, and shall enter into bonds, with two freehold sureties, in the penalty of \$500, conditioned on his or her good conduct, that they will not become chargeable to the corporation for the space of twelve months"—the bond "to be renewed every year for THREE YEARS. On failure of this, he or she must depart the city or be committed to the workhouse not exceeding *twelve months* in *any ONE* imprisonment." "And all negroes found residing in the city after the passage of this act who shall not be able to establish their title to freedom (except such as may be hired) shall be committed to the jail, as absconding slaves."

By this law color is made a crime, which first robs citizens of their constitutional as well as inalienable rights, and is then taken as evidence that they are slaves; and then to crown all, a large posse of officers, some of them in the pay of government, are "charged" with the execution of the laws, and "forfeit and pay for every neglect or failure a fine not exceeding twenty dollars."—*City Laws*, p. 198.

The result is that free citizens are often arrested, plunged into prison, and then sold for their jail fees as slaves for life.

This nation affords no protection to fugitive slaves.

8. Because no state in this Union affords protection to any slave who may escape to its limits, for

defence against the cruel hand of the southern oppressor. In every one of the "free states," as they are called, fugitives from the "vilest slavery that ever saw the sun," are liable to be seized by any ruthless white monster, and without a trial by jury, or any trial at all, to be dragged off to the South, and reduced again to a state of interminable bondage.

Slave states admitted into the Union.

9. Congress has admitted six slave states into the Union, without imposing any restriction upon the subject of slavery.

Colored foreigners.

10. The laws of the federal government prohibit foreigners who are colored, from becoming naturalized citizens of the United States.

United States' Mail.

11. The laws of the federal government prohibit colored Americans from carrying the United States' Mail.

Militia.

12. The same laws prohibit colored Americans from being enrolled in the militia.

The entire nation responsible.

13. This nation must be considered a *slave-holding nation*, while Congress, composed of Senators and Representatives from all the States in the Union, possesses the power to abolish slavery in its capital, and refuses to exercise it.

The Congress shall have power to exercise *exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever*, over such district, (not exceeding ten miles square,) as may, by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States.— *Constitution U. States*, Art. 1. Sec. 8.

The honor and good faith of this nation are pledged upon this subject.

14. This nation will be considered, by the civilized world, *a slaveholding nation*, while it refuses to redeem its pledge, made in the treaty of Ghent to do all in its power to "abolish entirely" the *traffic in slavery*.—See Chap. xx. page 145.

The following facts may be valuable in estimating the guilt of America in continuing the slave-trade after she became independent.

On the 20th of October, 1774, the delegates of 12 colonies being assembled in congress in Philadelphia, to devise how they might "obtain redress of the grievances, which threaten destruction to the lives, liberty and property of his Majesty's subjects in North America," approved and signed an agreement of "Non-Importation, Non-Consumption and Non-Exportation," which they bound themselves and the people of the colonies which they represented, "under the sacred ties of virtue, honor and love of our country," to observe. In this solemn and extraordinary agreement, was the following remarkable clause :

2d Article. WE WILL NEITHER IMPORT NOR PURCHASE ANY SLAVE IMPORTED AFTER THE FIRST DAY OF DECEMBER NEXT, AFTER WHICH TIME WE WILL WHOLLY DISCONTINUE THE SLAVE TRADE, *and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels, nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it.*

Enormous and disgraceful abuses tolerated by this nation in its capital.

The following facts are set forth in the preamble to some resolutions, introduced to the House of Representatives, in 1829, by Mr. Miner, of Pa.

Whereas the laws in respect to slavery within the District have been almost entirely neglected; from which

neglect, for nearly 30 years, have grown numerous and gross corruptions.

Slave dealers gaining confidence from impunity, have made the seat of federal government their head quarters for carrying on the domestic slave trade.

The public prisons have been extensively used, (perverted from the purposes for which they were erected,) for carrying on the domestic slave trade.

Officers of the federal government have been employed, and derive emoluments from carrying on the domestic slave trade.

Private and secret prisons exist in the District for carrying on the traffic in human beings.

The trade is not confined to those who are slaves for life; but persons having a limited time to serve, are bought by the slave dealers, and sent where redress is hopeless.

Others are kidnapped and hurried away before they can be rescued.

Instances of death, from the anguish of despair, exhibited in the District, mark the cruelty of this traffic.

Instances of maiming and suicide, executed or attempted, have been exhibited, growing out of this traffic within the District.

Free persons of color coming into the District, are liable to arrest, imprisonment, and sold into slavery for life, for jail fees, if unable, from ignorance, misfortune, or fraud, to prove their freedom.

Advertisements beginning, 'We will give cash for one hundred likely young negroes of both sexes, from eight to twenty-five years old,' contained in the public prints of the city, under the notice of Congress, indicate the openness and extent of the traffic.

Scenes of human beings exposed at public vendue are exhibited here, permitted by the laws of the general government.

A grand jury of the District has presented the slave trade as a grievance.

A writer in a public print in the District has set forth 'that to those who have never seen a spectacle of the kind (exhibited by the slave trade) no description can give an adequate idea of its horrors.'

To such an extent had this trade been carried in 1816, that a member of Congress from Virginia introduced a resolution in the House, 'That a committee be appointed to inquire into the existence of an *inhuman* and *illegal* traffic in slaves carried on in and through the District of Columbia, and report whether any, and what measures are necessary for putting a stop to the same.'

CHAPTER XVII.

REASONS FOR DISCUSSING THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY AT THE NORTH.

1. Because it is *American* slavery.
2. Because the North contributes its share towards its support.
 - (1.) Its money in building prisons in the District of Columbia, where slaves are kept.
 - (2.) Its representatives and senators in Congress who virtually vote for its continuance.
 - (3.) Its portion of men, christians and ministers of the gospel, who go to the South and become slaveholders.
3. We are obligated by the United States' laws to deliver up slaves who escape to us for refuge.
4. Because northern blood is liable to be spilt in case of insurrection at the South.
5. Because the slaveholding principle exists at the North, as really as at the South. The continuance of the system is justified here by Christians and ministers, on the same ground, on which it is justified there, by the slaveholders themselves.
6. We discuss this subject at the North, because as long as slavery exists in this nation our own liberties are insecure. See the case of Dr. Crandall, a citizen of N. York, who was incarcerated in Wash-

ington jail, for eight months, merely on suspicion of his being an abolitionist. Other citizens from the North have, by simply venturing to the South, lost both their liberty and their lives.

7. Because it is our right and privilege to discuss this question. The United States and the State in which we live, have guaranteed to us the freedom of speech, and of the press.

8. Because God has commanded his servants to open their mouths for such as cannot plead for themselves.

9. Because to neglect this subject would endanger the salvation of millions of souls, for whom Christ died.

10 Because slavery is a reproach to the nation which every lover of his country should be anxious to do away.

11. Because we should do, as we would be done by.

12. Because, without discussion, slavery will never be abolished, and it must be discussed here or no where, in the nation.

CHAPTER XVIII.

AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE.

The following items may serve as specimens to show the reader how Americans in this republic are bought and sold.

Specimen of a New Orleans advertisement:

When we ask emancipation for slaves like those described below, we are told, that they could not

take care of themselves, and if emancipated, they would starve to death !

Valuable SERVANTS for sale at auction, by Isaac L. M'Coy.

This day Thursday, 27th inst., at 12 o'clock, at the Exchange Coffee House, will be sold 34 VALUABLE SERVANTS, viz :

1. Harry, aged about 26 years ; a first rate cartman, axeman and sawyer ; has been accustomed to work in a saw-mill and wood-yard ; has been about 8 years in the country, and understands the care and management of horses, and possesses an excellent character.

2. George, aged about 23 years ; has been about 8 years in the country ; is a good carter and axeman, and has been accustomed to work in a wood-yard and bakery.

3. Altimore, aged about 21 years ; a first rate sawyer and axeman ; accustomed to work in a wood-yard, has been 3 or 4 years in the country.

4. Barney, aged about 18 years ; a first rate negro, and handy at almost all kinds of work ; has been accustomed to work in a wood-yard, and has been about 4 years in the country.

5. Henry Buckner, aged about 20 years ; a good axeman, sawyer and field hand, accustomed to work in a wood-yard, and has been about six years in the country.

6. Lewis, aged about 20 years ; a first rate hand in a wood-yard, an excellent butcher, a good field hand ; speaks French and English, and has been about 10 years in the country.

7. Sam Crumo, aged about 22 years ; a first rate hand in a wood-yard ; a carter ; speaks French and English, and has been about twelve years in the country.

8. Little Ned, aged about 18 years ; a good hand for a wood-yard ; has been one year in the country.

9. Big Ned, aged about 22 years ; do.

do. do.

10. Ben, aged about 20 years ; do.

do. do.

11. Aaron, aged about 33 years ; a first rate hand for a wood-yard, in which he has been employed for many years ; is an excellent cartman ; has been about 15 years in the country, and speaks both languages.

12. Dick Jackson, aged about 25 years; a good axeman and sawyer, and an excellent hand for a wood-yard, to which he is accustomed, and has been one year in the country.

13. Dick Morgan, aged about 39 years; a very honest, trusty servant; has acted as porter in a grocery store for several years, and has worked for several years in a rope walk and wood-yard; is an excellent axeman and sawyer; has been in the country since a child, and speaks French and English.

14. Dillard, aged about 31 years; a good cook, a good axeman and sawyer; has worked about 4 years in a wood-yard, and has been about 4 years in the country.

15. Charles Palmer, aged about 24 years; accustomed to work in a wood-yard: is a good axeman, carter and field hand, and has been about 4 years in the country.

16. Daniel, aged about 18 years a first rate house servant; is very trusty; a tolerable good cook; has been raised in the country; speaks French and English, and possesses a first rate character.

17. Anthony, aged about 15 years; a first rate house-servant; very trusty and active; a good sawyer; has been raised in the country, and possesses a first rate character.

18. Joseph, aged about 14 years; a first rate servant; handy at all kinds of work; has been accustomed to work in a wood-yard, and has been about 2 years in the country.

19. William, aged about 20 years; a good rough carpenter; a good coachman; has been 5 years in the country; speaks French and English, the title only guaranteed.

20. Ned, aged about 39 years; a good carpenter and ostler; has been about 4 years in the country, and is subject to rheumatism.

21. Robert, aged about 23 years; a rough blacksmith and carpenter; handy at all kinds of work; understands filing and setting saws, has been 8 years in the country, speaks French and English; is a first rate servant, and possesses a first rate character in every respect.

22. Peter, aged about 35 years; is a first rate overseer, and has always been employed in that capacity; has

been for 5 years in Opelousas, and about 4 years in New Orleans, is very honest and trusty, and a first rate servant in every respect.

23. Diana, aged about 24 years; (wife of Peter) a first rate house servant, washer, ironer and plaiter; a good cook; has been 5 years in the country; speaks French and English, and possesses a first rate character.

24. Malinda, aged about 24 years; a good house servant; a tolerable good washer and ironer; has been raised in the country; and speaks both languages.

25. Chloe, aged about 18 years; an excellent house servant; was born in Mobile; has been about one year in New Orleans, and possesses an excellent character.

26. Daphney, aged about 25 years; a first rate cook, both in French and English style, and a good pastry cook; was raised in Mississippi, has been 7 years in New Orleans, and possesses an excellent character.

27. Catharine, aged about 27 years, a good field hand; was raised in the country; speaks French, Spanish and English; title only guaranteed.

ALSO.

The following ORPHAN(!) children, viz :

28. John, aged about 12 years.

29. James, aged about 11 years.

30. David, aged about 9 years.

31. Cyrus, aged about 9 years. They have been about months in the country.

32. Yellow Alex, aged about 8 years.

33. Black Alex, aged about 8 years.

34. Abraham, aged about 5 years.

The slaves are all thoroughly acclimated, and, with the exceptions above stated, are all guaranteed against the diseases and vices prescribed by law.

TERMS.—One half of the purchase money payable on the first of May, 1835, and one half on the first of May, 1836, for notes drawn and endorsed to the satisfaction of the seller, and secured by mortgage until the final payment. The slaves will only be delivered after the acts are signed, and the notes delivered and approved. Bills of sale to be passed before W. Y. Lewis, Esq., Notary Public, at the expense of the purchaser.—*New Orleans paper.*

Americans sold for the benefit of the Church, and to support the cause of Missions.

In the Charleston Courier of Feb. 12th, 1835, is the following :

FIELD NEGROES, *by Thomas Gadsden.*

On Tuesday, the 17th instant, will be sold, at the North of the Exchange, at ten o'clock, *a prime gang of ten NEGROES*, accustomed to the culture of cotton and provisions, *belonging to the INDEPENDENT CHURCH, in Christ's Church Parish.* * * * * * Feb. 6.

Again—In the Emancipator of May 6, 1834, is the following, copied from a Savannah paper :

Bryan Superior Court.

Between John J. Maxwell, and others, Executors of Ann Pray, complainants, and Mary Sleigh, and others, Devisees and Legatees, under the will of Ann Pray, defendants.	}	IN EQUITY.
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A Bill, having been filed for the distribution of the estate of the Testatrix, Ann Pray, and it appearing that among other legacies in her will, is the following, viz. a legacy of one fourth of *certain negro slaves to the American Board of Commissioners for Domestic* [Foreign it probably should have been] *Missions for the purpose of sending the gospel to the heathen*, and particularly to the Indians of this continent. It is on motion of the solicitors of the complainants ordered, that all persons claiming the said legacy, do appear and answer the bill of the complainants, within four months from this day. And it is ordered, that this order be published in a public Gazette of the city of Savannah, and in one of the Gazettes of Philadelphia, once a month for four months.

Extract from the minutes, Dec. 3d, 1832.

dec. 8—4m

JOHN SMITH, C. S. C. B. C.

Americans sold for the benefit of Dr. Furman's heirs.

We have already quoted the opinion of this Baptist Dr. on the subject of slavery, see page 62.

Notice.

On the first Monday of February next, will be put up at *public auction* before the *court house*, the *following property*, belonging to the estate of the late REV. DR. FURMAN, viz:—

A plantation or tract of land on and in the Wateree Swamp, through which the road passes from Stateburg to Columbia, consisting of 2000 acres of land of the first class for cotton and corn, and the finest range for stock.

A tract after the first quality of fine land, on the waters of Black River, within four miles of Sumpterville, from 600 to 800 acres.

A lot of land in the town of Camden.

A LIBRARY of a miscellaneous character, CHIEFLY THEOLOGICAL.

27 NEGROES.

Some of them very prime. Two mules, one horse and old wagon.

Conditions.—For the Wateree tract, one-sixth payable on the first of January, 1836, the balance in five equal instalments. For Black River land, one-half on the first of January, 1836, balance in 12 months thereafter. For the Camden lot, a credit of 12 months. *For the negroes*, one-half on the first of January, 1836, balance on the first of January, 1837. For the *other property*, cash, bonds or notes, with interest annually on the whole amount, with personal security, if required.

Jan. 17, 1835.

Manner of carrying on this traffic.

Those who are transported down the Mississippi river, are stowed away on the decks of steamboats, males and females, old and young, usually chained, subject to the jeers and taunts of the passengers and navigators, and often, by bribes, or threats, or the lash, made subject to abominations not to be named. On the same deck, you may see horses and human beings, tenants of the same apartments, and going to supply the same market. The *dumb* beasts, being less manageable, are allowed the first place, while the *human* are forced into spare corners and vacant places. My informant saw one trader, who was

taking down to New Orleans one hundred horses, several sheep, and between fifty and sixty slaves. The sheep and slaves occupied the same deck. Many interesting and intelligent females were of the number. And if I were satisfied that the columns of a newspaper was the proper place to publish it, I could tell facts concerning the brutal treatment exercised towards these defenceless females while on the downward passage, which ought to kindle up the hot indignation of every mother, and daughter, and sister in the land.

The slaves are taken down in companies, varying in number from 20 to 500. Men of capital are engaged in the traffic. Go into the principal towns on the Mississippi river, and you will find these negro traders in the bar-rooms, boasting of their adroitness in driving human flesh, and describing the process by which they can 'tame down' the spirit of a 'refractory' negro. Remember, by 'refractory' they mean to designate that spirit which some high-souled negro manifests, when he fully recognizes the fact, that God's image is stamped upon him. There are many such negroes in slavery. Their bodies may faint under the infliction of accumulated wrong, but their souls cannot be crushed. After visiting the bar-room, go into the outskirts of the town, and there you will find the slaves belonging to the drove, crowded into dilapidated huts,—some revelling—others apparently stupid—but others weeping over ties broken and hopes destroyed, with an agony intense, and to a free man, inconceivable. Many respectable planters in Louisiana have themselves gone into Maryland and Virginia, and purchased their slaves. They think it more profitable to do so. This shows that highly respectable men engage in this trade. But those who make it their regular employment, and thus receive the awfully significant title of '*soul drivers*,' are usually brutal, ignorant, debauched men. And it is *such* men, who exercise despotic control over thousands of down-trodden, and defenceless men and women.

The slaves which pass down to the southern market on the Mississippi river and through the interior, are mostly purchased in Kentucky and Virginia. Some are bought in Tennessee. In the emigration they suffer

great hardships. Those who are driven down by land, travel from two hundred to a thousand miles on foot, through Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi. They sometimes carry heavy chains the whole distance. These chains are very massive. They extend from the hands to the feet, being fastened to the wrists and ankles by an iron ring round each. When chained, every slave carries two chains,—i. e. one from each hand to each foot. A wagon in which rides 'the driver,' carrying coarse provisions, and a few tent coverings, generally accompanies the drove. Men, women and children, some of the latter very young, walk near the wagon; and if, through fatigue or sickness, they falter, the application of the whip reminds them that they are slaves. They encamp out nights. Their bed consists of a small blanket. Even this is frequently denied them. A rude tent covers them, scarcely sufficient to keep off the dew or frost, much less the rain. They frequently remain in this situation several weeks, in the neighborhood of some slave-trading village. The slaves are subject, while on their journeys, to severe sickness. On such occasions the drivers manifest much anxiety lest they should lose *their property*! But even sickness does not prevent them from hurrying their victims on to market. Sick, faint, or weary, the slave knows no rest. In the Choctaw nation, my informant met a large company of these miserable beings, following a wagon at some distance. From their appearance, being mostly females and children, and hence not so marketable, he supposed they must belong to some planter who was emigrating southward. He inquired if this was so, and if their master was taking them home. A woman, in tones of mellowed despair, answered him:—'Oh, no, sir, we are not going *home*! We don't know where we are going. *The speculators have got us!*'—H. B. Stanton.

How Americans are exposed for sale.

Mr. Robinson, a member of the Lane Seminary, a citizen of Nashville, Tennessee, where he was graduated, and has resided, says:—

After slaves arrive in market, they are subjected to

the most degrading examinations. The purchasers will roll up their sleeves and pantaloons, and examine their muscles and joints critically, to ascertain their probable strength, and will even open their mouths and examine their teeth, with the same remarks, and the same unconcern, that they would a horse.

The females are exposed to the same rude examinations as the men. When a large drove of slaves arrives in a town for sale, placards are put up at the corners of the streets, giving notice of the place and time of sale. Often they are driven through the streets for hours together (for the purpose of exhibiting them) exposed to the jeers and insults of the spectators. About a year since, Mr. Robinson saw about a hundred men, women and children, exposed for sale at one time in the market place at Nashville; and while three auctioneers were striking them off, purchasers examined their limbs and bodies with inhuman roughness and unconcern. This was accompanied with profanity, indelicate allusions, and boisterous laughter.

There are planters in the northern slave-states, who will not sell *slave families*, unless they can dispose of them all together. This they consider more humane,—as it in fact is. But such kindnesses are of no avail after the victims come into the southern markets. If it is not just as profitable for the traders to sell them in families, they hesitate not a moment to separate husband and wife—parents and children, and dispose of them to purchasers, residing in sections of the country, remote from each other. When they happen to dispose of whole families to the same man, they loudly boast of it, as an evidence of their humanity.

Separation of Families.

Take the following facts as illustrative of the deep feeling of slave mothers for their children. It is furnished me by a fellow student who has resided much in slave states. I give it in his own words. 'Some years since when travelling from Halifax in North Carolina, to Warrenton in the same state, we passed a large drove of slaves on their way to Georgia. Before leaving Halifax, I heard that the drivers had purchased a number of

slaves in that vicinity, and started with them that morning, and that we should probably overtake them in an hour or two. Before coming up with the gang, we saw at a distance a colored female, whose appearance and actions attracted my notice. I said to the stage-driver, (who was a colored man,) 'What is the matter with that woman, is she crazy?' 'No, massa,' said he, 'I know her, it is —. Her master sold her two children this morning to the soul-drivers, and she has been following along after them, and I suppose they have driven her back. Don't you think it would make you act like you was crazy, if they should take your children away, and you never see 'em any more?' By this time we had come up with the woman. She seemed quite young. As soon as she recognized the driver, she cried out, 'they've gone! they've gone! The soul-drivers have got them. Master would sell them. I told him I couldn't live without my children. I tried to make him sell me too;—but he beat me and drove me off, and I got away and followed after them, and the drivers whipped me back:—and I never shall see my children again. Oh! what shall I do!' The poor creature shrieked and tossed her arms about with maniac wildness—and beat her bosom, and literally *cast dust into the air*, as she moved towards the village. At the last glimpse I had of her, she was nearly a quarter of a mile from us, still throwing handfuls of sand around her, with the same phrenzied air.—*H. B. Stanton.*

Prices for which Americans are sold.

The other day I attended a *sale of slaves* in the exchange.

In one accustomed to such scenes, it excited no enviable feelings. The first spontaneous emotion of my heart was, that God never made men and women to be sold like beasts or bales of cotton, and to be separated from each other, and from their children, as I saw them separated! And yet a Presbyterian minister not long since in a sermon preached before synod, asserted and attempted to prove from the Bible that '*slavery is no sin.*'

There were 33 in the lot to be sold. As a specimen, I subjoin the prices of a few.

Willis, 18 years old, brought	\$1400
Jack, 29,	1200
Adams, 20,	1300
Tom, 16,	1175
Dick, 30,	1000
Bill, 14,	660
Malinda, 29,	500

Cincinnati Journal.

The following conversation between two planters, one from North Carolina, and the other from Mississippi, recently occurred on board one of our splendid North River Steamboats. It was given to us in writing, by a respectable citizen of Poughkeepsie, who heard it.

Mississippian. What is a young negro boy worth in North Carolina?

Carolinian. They fetch a great price there.

M. Are slaves scarce there at present?

C. They are scarce and high. Those that have slaves are out of debt, and of course able to hold them, or get their price.

M. What is a negro man worth?

C. I purchased one a short time since for \$750.

M. And what are women with children worth?

C. They are much higher in proportion to other slaves.

M. Well, what would a good likely negro boy bring?

C. Under fifty [pounds] they fetch NINE DOLLARS PER POUND, that is the common price!—*Am. S. Record.*

The Slave Market of America.

The following advertisements will show why the capital of this nation has been called "the slave market of America."

CASH FOR 200 NEGROES.

We will give cash for two hundred likely young negroes, of both sexes, families included. Persons wishing to dispose of their slaves, will do well to give us a call, as we will give higher prices in cash, than any other purchasers who are now, or may hereafter come into

this market. We can at all times be found at our residence on 7th street, immediately South of the Centre Market House, Washington, D. C.

September 13, 1834.

JOSEPH W. NEAL & Co.

One of the private prisons in Washington used for keeping slaves is owned by W. Robey, who is also engaged in the trade. In May, 1834, a gentleman visited it and fell into conversation with the overseer of the pen. He heard the clanking of chains within the pen. "O," said the overseer—himself a slave, "I have seen *fifty* or *seventy* slaves taken out of the pen, and the males chained together in pairs, and drove off to the South—and how they would cry, and groan, and take on, and wring their hands, but the driver would put on the whip and tell them to shut up—so they would go off and bear it as well as they could.

The standing advertisement of this house is as above.

CASH FOR 400 NEGROES,

Including both sexes, from 12 to 25 years of age. Persons having likely servants to dispose of will find it to their interest to give us a call, as we will give higher prices in cash than any other purchaser who is now, or may hereafter come into this market.

FRANKLIN & ARMFIELD.

Alexandria, Sept. 1, 1834.

Franklin and Armfield alone shipped to New Orleans during the year 1835, according to their own statement, not less than 1000 slaves. They own brigs of about 160 to 200 tons burthen, running regularly every thirty days, during the trading season to New Orleans, and carrying about one slave to the ton.

Mr. Miner makes the following statement in regard to the jail in Washington :

By papers furnished me by the keeper, it appears that there were sent to prison for safe keeping, that is, as is well understood, for sale and imprisoned as runaways,

	<i>Safe keeping.</i>	<i>Taken up as runaways.</i>
In 1824,	81	52
1825,	124	58
1826 & 1827,	156	101
1828,	91	79
	<hr/> 452	<hr/> 290

Debtors and persons charged with criminal offences, of course, are not included in this statement, so that it would appear, in the last five years, more than four hundred and fifty persons had been confined in the public prison of the city—a prison under the control of congress, and regulated by its laws—for sale in the process of the slave trade. Such, said Mr. M., is not the intention for which the prison was erected. Pennsylvania, so far as she is concerned, and her means are appropriated to repair and keep up the prison, I am confident in saying, does not and never has intended that it should be used for this purpose.

Facilities for carrying on the trade in human flesh.

Establishments are made at several places in Maryland and Virginia, at which they are sold like cattle. These places of deposit are strongly built, and well supplied with iron thumb screws and gags, and ornamented with cow-skins and other whips, oftentimes bloody. But the laws of the States permit the traffic, and it is suffered.—Nile's Register, vol. 35, p. 4.

The schooner *Fell's Point*, Capt. Stagg, has been seized at New Orleans for smuggling slaves into New Orleans from the West Indies, and the Captain, supercargo and crew, were cast into prison for trial. The supercargo is said to be an old offender, and possibly now is about to meet with some reward for his black crimes.—*Niles' Register*, Aug. 27, 1825.

In a very late work entitled "Transatlantic Sketches, comprising visits to the most interesting scenes in North and South America and the West Indies, with notes on negro Slavery and Canadian

Emigration, by Capt. J. E. Alexander, of the British Army, London, 1833," we find the following passage :

The most remarkable circumstance connected with slavery in America is the following. A planter in Louisiana, of forty years standing, assured me that there are a set of miscreants in the city of New Orleans, who are connected with the slave traders of Cuba, and who at certain periods proceed up the Mississippi as far as the Fourche mouth, which they descend in large row boats, and meet off the coast slave ships. These they relieve of their cargoes, and returning to the main stream of the Mississippi, they drop down it in covered flat bottomed boats or arks, and dispose of the negroes to those who want them.—Vol. 2. p. 26.

Sale of Americans at auction.

During my sojourn in the capital of Virginia, (United States,) I was a witness, for the first time in my life, of a scene as degrading to human nature, as productive of horror and disgust to the friends of humanity; the following advertisement having been inserted for several days successively in the news-papers:

Monday next, at 9 A. M. at public sale, the slaves whose names follow, all negroes of the first quality, namely: "Betsy, a negro woman, twenty-three years of age, with her child Cæsar, three years old; an excellent cook, washer and ironer; warranted healthy. Julia, a mulatto girl, aged thirteen, robust and active, a good field laborer; with the exception of a slight defect in the left eye, she is without fault. Augustus, a negro lad, six years of age, qualified to become an excellent domestic; without defect. The aforesaid slaves will be sold without reserve to the highest bidder, and the purchaser will be able to obtain credit for two or even four months, upon good security."

I was anxious to be present at such a strange commercial transaction, and I was there punctually. In the midst of various articles exposed for sale, such as pots, pans, beds, chairs, books, &c. &c., were seated the un-

happy slaves, all crowded together, and all, as one would imagine, appropriately clothed. The poor mother, with her child in her arms, was the first object that drew my attention. The auctioneer had placed her in such a manner, that she and her infant should be the first object seen by those who entered the market. The customers, as they entered, cast their eyes upon the group so worthy of pity, to satisfy their curiosity, and examined them as if they were gazing at some chef d'œuvre produced by the chisel of Canova. I could not help shuddering with indignation, in considering the indifference and gross rudeness with which these insensible men treat their slaves. Betsy was the only one who appeared to feel all the rigors of her situation; her eyes remained constantly fixed upon her infant, and if she raised them for a moment, it was to obey the order of a purchaser, who wished, probably, to assure himself that they were strong enough to support labor by day and by night; but she had scarcely yielded to his injunction, ere they fell again upon the miserable infant which reposed on her bosom; she even replied to all their questions without raising her eyes to the person by whom she was addressed.

It was not the same, however, with the other slaves; they smiled at every jest, and their large white eyes, like brilliants fastened to their foreheads, sparkled with joy at the gay conversation and at the witty remarks—of the gentlemen who had come hither with the intention of purchasing human beings at a fair price. But the moment of the sale approaching, and several persons were assembled in the hall: the crier invited them to come out, and upon a table placed before the door in the middle of the street, was exposed one of the slaves, who were for sale.

Betsy and her child had the honor of figuring first. The crier stood upon a chair placed near. I discovered in the crowd a dozen negroes at least, who passing at the time, were drawn by curiosity to approach, and appeared to follow with attention the progress of the sale; I could not forbear sympathizing with the unhappy beings, in reading upon their countenances the interest with which their companions in misery inspired

them. "Let us proceed, gentlemen," cried the seller of human flesh in a stentorian voice;—"let us proceed, a woman for sale!"

"An excellent woman; not a fault! and a little boy in the bargain. How much for the mother and child—250 dollars; very well, sir, \$250 to begin. Some one has bid \$250. Truly, gentlemen, they sell cattle for a larger price; \$250; look at these eyes, examine these limbs—shall I say \$260? Thanks, gentlemen, some one has bid \$260. It seems to me that I heard \$275;—go on gentlemen; I have never sold such a bargain. How! \$280 for the best cook, the best washer and the best dressmaker in Virginia? Must I sell her for the miserable price of \$280? \$300; two gentlemen have said \$300. Very well, gentlemen; I am happy to see you begin to warm a little; some one bid 310—310, going—330—335—340—340, going—upon my honor, gentlemen, it is indeed a sacrifice to lose so good a cook; a great bargain for \$340. Reflect upon it a little, and do not forget there is a little boy in the bargain."

Here our auctioneer was interrupted in his harangue by one of his customers, a man whose appearance had inspired me, from the first moment, with a feeling of horror, and who, with the indifference and sang froid of an assassin, made to him the following observation: "As for the negro child, it is good for nothing; it is not worth a day's nourishment, and if I have the mother, I will give away the child very quick; the first bidder will be able to have it at a cheap bargain."

I glanced at the unfortunate mother, anxious to see what effect this barbarous proposal would have upon her. She did not speak, but a profound sadness was impressed on her countenance. The little innocent which she held in her arms, fixed his large eyes upon her, as if saying, "mamma, why do you weep?" Then he turned towards the witnesses of this heart-rending scene, with an expression that seemed to ask, what they had done to his mother to make her weep so bitterly. No, never will this moment escape my memory; it has confirmed me for all my life in the horror that I already felt at this infamous traffic. The auction continued, and finally the crier, striking a heavy blow with a ham-

mer, pronounced the award; to Mr. — for \$360. The victim descended from the table and was led away by the purchaser. The other slaves were sold in the same manner as poor Betsy. Julia was sold at \$326, and Augustus at \$105. They both fell to the same individual who had purchased the former lot.—*Travels of Arfordson.*

Extent of this traffic.

According to New Orleans papers, there were imported into that port, during the week commencing on the 16th ult., from various ports in the United States, 371 slaves, principally from Virginia.—*Niles' Register*, Oct. 22, 1831.

Supposing the above to be an average number, it would follow that the Domestic maritime Slave Trade supplies New Orleans with no less than twenty thousand slaves every year, *three times the annual importation from abroad into the United States, when the foreign trade was most brisk.*

If to this number we add ten thousand for those landed in other states and territories, without touching at New Orleans, and twenty thousand for the inland trade, it will make a total of fifty thousand men, bought and sold like swine in this professedly christian nation, every year.

It is stated in the Natchez Courier, that during the year 1836, no less than two hundred and fifty thousand slaves were carried into Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, and Arkansas. Well hath the Great and Just ONE, said, "shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?"

CHAPTER XIX.

ABOLITIONISTS.

Their principles.

1st We hold that Congress has no right to abolish slavery in the southern states.

2d. We hold that slavery can only be lawfully abolished by the legislatures of the several states in which it prevails, and that the exercise of any other than moral influence to induce such abolition, is unconstitutional.

3d. We believe that Congress has the same right to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, that the state governments have within their respective jurisdictions, and that it is their duty to efface so foul a blot from the national escutcheon.

4th. We believe that American citizens have the right to express and publish their opinions of the constitutions, laws and institutions of any and every state and nation under Heaven; and we mean never to surrender the liberty of speech, of the press, or of conscience — blessings we have inherited from our fathers, and which we intend as far as we are able, to transmit unimpaired to our children.

5th. We have uniformly deprecated all forcible attempts on the part of the slaves to recover their liberty. And were it in our power to address them, we would exhort them to observe a quiet and peaceful demeanor, and would assure them that no insurrectionary movement on their part, would receive from us the slightest aid or countenance.

6th. We would deplore any servile insurrection, both on account of the calamities which would attend it, and on account of the occasion which it might furnish of increased severity and oppression.

7th. We are charged with sending incendiary publications to the South. If by the term *incendiary* is meant publications containing arguments and facts to prove slavery to be a moral and political evil, and that duty and policy require its immediate abolition, the charge is

true. But if this term is used to imply publications encouraging insurrection, and designed to excite the slaves to break their fetters, the charge is utterly and unequivocally false.

8th. We are accused of sending our publications to the slaves, and it is asserted that their tendency is to excite insurrections. Both the charges are false. These publications are not intended for the slaves, and were they able to read them, they would find in them no encouragement to insurrection.

9th. We are accused of employing agents in the slave states to distribute our publications. We have never had one such agent. We have sent no *packages* of our papers to any person in those States for distribution, except to five respectable resident citizens, at their own request. But we have sent, by mail, single papers addressed to public officers, editors of newspapers, clergymen and others. If, therefore, our object is to excite the slaves to insurrection, the MASTERS are our agents!

10th. We believe slavery to be sinful, injurious to this and every other country in which it prevails; we believe immediate emancipation to be the duty of every slaveholder, and that the immediate abolition of slavery, by those who have the right to abolish it, would be safe and wise. These opinions we have freely expressed, and we certainly have no intention to refrain from expressing them in future, and urging them upon the conscience and hearts of our fellow-citizens who hold slaves or apologize for slavery.

11th. We believe that the education of the poor is required by duty, and by a regard for the permanency of our republican institutions. There are thousands and tens of thousands of our fellow-citizens, even in the free states, sunk in abject poverty, and who on account of their complexion, are virtually *kept* in ignorance, and whose instruction in certain cases is actually prohibited by law! We are anxious to protect the rights and to promote the virtue and happiness of the colored portion of our population, and on this account we have been charged with a design to encourage inter-marriage between the whites and blacks. This charge has been repeatedly, and is again denied, while we repeat that the

tendency of our sentiments is to put an end to the criminal amalgamation that prevails wherever slavery exists.

13.h. We are accused of acts that tend to a dissolution of the Union, and even of wishing to dissolve it. We have never "calculated the value of the Union," because we believe it to be inestimable; and that the abolition of slavery will remove the chief danger of its dissolution; and one of the many reasons why we cherish and will endeavor to preserve the Constitution is, that it restrains Congress from making any law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press.

Such, fellow-citizens, are our principles.—Are they unworthy of republicans and of Christians?—*Ex. Com. of the A. A. Slavery Society, New York, Sept. 5, 1835.*

Objects.

The object of this Society is the entire abolition of slavery in the United States. While it admits that each state in which slavery exists, has, by the Constitution of the United States, the exclusive right to *legislate* in regard to its abolition in said state, it shall aim to convince all our fellow citizens, by arguments addressed to their understandings and consciences, that slaveholding is a heinous crime in the sight of God, and that the duty, safety, and best interests of all concerned, require its *immediate abandonment*, without expatriation. The Society will also endeavor, in a constitutional way, to influence Congress to put an end to the domestic slave trade, and to abolish slavery in all those portions of our common country, which come under its control, especially in the District of Columbia, and likewise to prevent the extension of it to any state that may be hereafter admitted to the Union.—*Constitution of the A. A. Slavery Society, Art. ii.*

This Society shall aim to elevate the character and condition of the people of color, by encouraging their intellectual, moral and religious improvement, and by removing public prejudice, that thus they may, according to their intellectual and moral worth, share an equality with the whites, of civil and religious privileges; but this Society will never, in any way, countenance the op-

pressed in vindicating their rights by resorting to physical force.—*Ib. Art. iii.*

Measures.

1. To treat *all* men as *men*,—as immortal beings made in the image of the glorious God.
2. To pray for the enslavers and the enslaved.
3. To obtain and spread light upon the sin and evils of American slavery, by open, free, Christian-like discussion—by speaking the truth in love for all persons, and on all occasions.

C H A P T E R X X .

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

The following are all those parts of the Constitution of the United States, which have been supposed, in any way, to relate to the subject of slavery, or which can be consistently brought to bear upon it.

ART. I. Sec. 2. *Third clause.*—Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, *three-fifths of all other persons.*

Sec. 8. Among the enumerated powers of Congress is the following, which gives it full authority to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, viz :

The Congress shall have power to exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of

particular states, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States.

A similar power also extends to the territories as appears from Art. IV. Sec. 3.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory and other property belonging to the United States, &c.

Art. IV. Sec. 2. *Third clause.*—No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

The case of a fugitive from slavery in the United States differs, from a fugitive from justice, in this respect ; that the latter is to be delivered up "on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, to be removed to the state *having jurisdiction of the crime*;"—there he is *to be tried*, on principles of law and evidence common to all the states. But a person may be claimed as a fugitive slave, no trial *whatever*, after removal, being contemplated, or possible. It is therefore, evident that the states cannot protect their *own citizens*, unless the claimants of fugitive slaves are compelled to substantiate their claims before a *jury* by due process of law. But Congress has thought fit to legislate on this subject, and to yield to the claimant any person he may please to arrest as property, provided *proof* be made to the *satisfaction of any magistrate whom the claimant may select*. The law is as follows :

Sec. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That when a person held to labor in any of the United States, or in either of the territories on the northwest or south of the river Ohio, under the laws thereof, shall escape into any other

of the said states or territory, the person to whom such labor or service may be due, his agent or attorney is hereby empowered to seize or arrest such fugitive from labor, and to take him or her before any judge of the circuit or district courts of the United States, residing or being within the state, or before any magistrate of a county, city, or town corporate, wherein such seizure or arrest shall be made, and upon *proof* to the satisfaction of such judge or magistrate, either by oral testimony or affidavit, taken before and certified by a *magistrate* of any such state or territory, that the person so seized or arrested, doth, under the laws of the State or territory from which he or she fled, owe service or labor to the person claiming him or her, it shall be the duty of such judge or magistrate to give a certificate thereof to such claimant, his agent or attorney, which shall be sufficient warrant for removing the said fugitive from labor, to the state or territory from which he or she fled.

Now compare this Act of Congress with Art. xii, the Constitution, (*Amendments*.) which reads thus :

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved ; and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

From this it is perfectly clear, that the foregoing Act, is not only *unconstitutional*, but directly subversive of the state rights.

The following clause in the Constitution empowers Congress to abolish the internal slave trade :

Congress shall have power—to regulate commerce among the several states.—*Art. I. Sec. 8.*

Were the slave trade abolished which is now carried on between the different states, slavery could not continue in this nation but a short time. See next chapter.

CHAPTER XXI.

UNITED STATES LAWS AGAINST THE
SLAVE TRADE.

Foreign slave trade.

Sec. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That if any citizen of the United States, being of the crew or ship's company of any foreign ship or vessel engaged in the slave trade, or any citizen, or vessel owned in the whole or part, or navigated for, or in behalf of any citizen of the United States, shall land, from any such ship or vessel, and on any foreign shore seize any negro or mulatto, not held to service or labor by the laws of either of the states or territories of the United States, with intent to make such negro or mulatto a slave, shall decoy, or forcibly bring or carry, or shall *receive such negro or mulatto on board any such ship or person whatever, being of the crew or ship's company of any ship or vessel, with intent as aforesaid*, such citizen or person shall be adjudged a PIRATE, and on conviction thereof, before the circuit court of the United States, for the district wherein he may be brought or found, shall suffer DEATH.—*Approved, May 15, 1820.*

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That if any citizen of the United States, being of the crew or ship's company of any foreign ship or vessel engaged in the slave trade, or any person whatever, being of the crew or ship's company, of any ship or vessel, owned wholly or in part, or navigated for, or in behalf of any citizen or citizens of the United States, shall forcibly confine, or detain, or aid and abet in forcibly confining, or detaining, on board such ship or vessel, any negro or mulatto, not held to service by the laws of either of the states or territories of the United States, with intent to make such negro or mulatto a slave, or shall, on board any such ship or vessel offer or attempt to sell, as a slave, any negro or mulatto not held to service as aforesaid, or shall, on the high seas, or any where on tide water, transfer to deliver over to any other ship or vessel, any negro or mulatto, not

held to service as aforesaid, with intent to make such negro or mulatto a slave, or shall land, or deliver on shore, from on board any such ship or vessel, any such negro or mulatto, with intent to make sale of, or having previously sold, such negro or mulatto, as a slave, such citizen, or person shall be adjudged a PIRATE, and on conviction thereof, before the circuit court of the United States for the district wherein he shall be brought, or found, shall suffer DEATH.—*Approved, May, 15, 1820.*

American slave trade.

From the following extracts it will be seen, that the domestic slave trade, also now carried on in this nation, is most explicitly condemned by the law of these United States.

Whereas, the *traffic in slaves* is irreconcilable with the principles of humanity and justice, and whereas, both His Majesty and the United States are desirous of continuing their efforts to promote its ENTIRE ABOLITION, it is hereby agreed that both the contracting parties *shall use their best endeavors* to accomplish so desirable an object.—*Treaty of peace between His Britannic Majesty and the United States of America signed at Ghent, Dec. 24, 1814. Art. x.*

This treaty shall be binding to both parties.—Ib. Art. xi.

Now compare the above with the following:—

All *treaties* made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the SUPREME LAW OF THE LAND; and the judges in *every state* shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.—*Constitution of the United States, Art. vi.*

Hence it appears, that the "supreme law" of this land is opposed to the "traffic in slaves," and the *good faith* of the United States is PLEDGED to promote its "*entire abolition.*"

CHAPTER XXII.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND OF THE PRESS.

The following extracts from the United States' Constitution, and from the Bills of Rights, and Constitutions of the several states, will show how high an estimate was once put upon the freedom of speech and of the press, by the fathers of our country.

Congress.

Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or *abridging the freedom of speech or of the press*; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.—*Constitution U. S. Art. iii. Amendments.*

Maine.

Every citizen may freely speak, write and publish his sentiments on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of this liberty. No laws shall be passed regulating or restraining the freedom of the press.

Massachusetts.

The liberty of the press is essential to security of freedom in a state; it ought not, therefore, to be restrained in this commonwealth.

New Hampshire.

The liberty of the press is essential to the security of freedom in a state; it ought, therefore, to be inviolably preserved.

Vermont.

The people have a right to a freedom of speech, and of writing and publishing their sentiments con-

cerning the transactions of government, and therefore the freedom of the press ought not to be restrained.

Connecticut.

Every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

No law shall ever be passed to curtail or restrain the liberty of speech or of the press.

New York.

Every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right; and no law shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech, or of the press. In all prosecutions, or indictments for libels, the truth may be given in evidence to the jury: and if it shall appear to the jury, that the matter charged as libellous is true, and was published with good motives, and for justifiable ends, the party shall be acquitted, and the jury shall have the right to determine the law and the fact.

Pennsylvania.

The printing presses shall be free to every person who undertakes to examine the proceedings of the Legislature, or any branch of government; and no law shall ever be made to restrain the right thereof. The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man; and every citizen may freely speak, write, and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

Delaware.

The press shall be free to every citizen who undertakes to examine the official conduct of men acting in a public capacity; and any citizen may print

on any such subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

Maryland.

The liberty of the press ought to be inviolably preserved.

Virginia.

The freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty, and can never be restrained but by despotic governments.

North Carolina.

The freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty, and therefore ought never to be restrained.

South Carolina.

The trial by jury, as heretofore used in this state, and the liberty of the press, shall be for ever inviolably preserved.

Georgia.

Freedom of the press, and trial by jury, as heretofore used in this state, shall remain inviolate ; and no ex post facto law shall be passed.

Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, Louisiana, and Illinois.

The printing presses shall be free to every person who undertakes to examine the proceedings of the legislature, or any branch of government ; and no law shall ever be made to restrain the right thereof. The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man ; and every citizen may freely speak, write, and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

Ohio.

The printing presses shall be open and free to every citizen who wishes to examine the proceedings of any branch of government, or the conduct of any public officer; and no law shall ever restrain the right thereof. Every citizen has an indisputable right to speak, write, or print upon any subject, as he thinks proper, being liable for the abuse of that liberty.

Mississippi.

Every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiment on all subjects, being responsible for the use of that liberty.

No law shall ever be passed to curtail or restrain the liberty of speech or of the press.

Alabama.

Every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

Missouri.

The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man; and every person may freely speak, write, and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

CHAPTER XXIII.**OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.**

1. "The Bible recognizes, and of course in some circumstances, justifies slavery."

One sentence is sufficient to dispose of this argument. *Slave holders refuse the Bible to their slaves.*

Strange that they should fear to add *moral chains* to the *physical* !

2. "Abolitionists are too sweeping in their denunciations. Slavery is not always, as they affirm, a *sin*, because slaves are often treated with kindness."

So are horses. Is it right to put a man to the place of a horse, provided that horse is a beloved and favorite one? And would you judge it kind treatment, if you were, under any circumstances, robbed of your liberty, and bought and sold like a beast?

3. "The slaves are unfit for freedom."

Are they all unfit? If not, then you must be an immediate abolitionist in regard to those who are fit. If they are, then how can any of them ever be made fit, for some, nay, many of them, have already enjoyed long enough, all the possible influences which can be supposed to fit men for freedom while in a state of slavery.

4. "Slaves are paid wages, inasmuch as they receive from their masters food and clothing."

"It takes two to make a bargain." You might as well call the grease a man puts on his cart wheels, the wages of the ox and of the cart, as to call the food and clothing of the slave his wages.

5. "Many slaves have religious privileges. Their masters labor for the salvation of their souls."

So long as the slaves are kept in ignorance of the Bible, and of their own rights as *men*, and consequently of their duties to God and man; and so long as their persons and purity are not protected either by public opinion or by the laws, their piety must be of a doubtful character.

6. "Many would not take their freedom if it were offered them."

Fairly and constantly give a man the option of liberty, and he can no longer be your slave. He -

may still be the slave of unjust laws, the victim of a wicked public sentiment, but he is not your slave, though he may choose to serve you under that name. Abolitionists do not trouble themselves about *voluntary self-sold* slaves: there are millions who *would* take their freedom if they could get it.

7. "The slaves are better off than the free blacks."

According to our Declaration of Independence, every man has the right to be his own judge about his own "happiness." Now the question with us, is not whether the free blacks *are* happier, but whether they *feel* happier than they would in slavery. If not, it is the plainest thing in the world, that they would become slaves, as they may easily do any day.

8. "The slaves in this country are better off than they would have been had they been left in Africa."

This may be true, and yet no thanks be due to slaveholders for it. Those who kidnapped men on the coast of Africa did it to make merchandize of them. Those who purchased them, did it not to make Christians of them, but to receive the benefit of their labor. Hence the crucifiers of Christ are entitled to as many thanks for the salvation of souls; as slaveholders are for any benefit which slaves may derive from being enslaved.

9. "The slaves have been '*entailed*' upon slaveholders."

If slaves have been entailed upon slaveholders, we know from observation, that they are very willing to receive and retain the entailment. Why, then, should they complain?

10. "Slaveholders know that slavery is a curse, and are opposed to it, but cannot get rid of it."

If they know it to be a curse, they seem not to believe that their slaves are curses, or, if they do

they are very loth to part with curses. When one runs away instead of calling in their friends to rejoice with them, they make chase with all possible speed after the poor *curses*, and sometimes offer fifty, a hundred, two hundred, or even five hundred dollars reward to any man who will take up and confine the curse until they can get it again.

11. "The slaves would cut their masters' throats if emancipated."

If they do so, it must be to get out of freedom, and according to this objection, there is more danger of the slaves killing their masters to get back into slavery, which may be done without any killing, than to get out of slavery, which often cannot be done without killing! To be serious, an objection so disgraceful to human nature should not be brought forward without some fact to stand on. To the honor of our species, we are bold to say no such fact ever has been, or ever will be. See the history of all past emancipations, especially of 800,000 slaves in the British Colonies on the 1st of August, 1834.

12. "The slaves if emancipated would not work."

Well, what if they would not? Who has a right to compel them to work? Who made the slaveholder the executioner of God's sentence, that man shall eat bread in the sweat of his face? Not God, surely, for the slaveholder is himself a rebel against that sentence, eating his bread in the sweat of other people's faces.

13. "If the slaves were set free, amalgamation would take place."

Not without the consent of the parties interested. And the citizens of this *free* country should be the last in the world to infringe upon the will of these parties, for the right to choose a partner for life is so exclusive and sacred, that it is never interfered with, except by the worst of tyrants. But where

does amalgamation exist? Among the abolitionists of the North, or the slaveholders at the South? Where slavery has been abolished in the British West Indies, amalgamation has been abolished with it. If the objector is not satisfied with this answer, we turn him over to his brother objector, who says, that the blacks ought always to be slaves, because nature has planted such an antipathy between them and the whites that they can never intermingle.

14. "But suppose the entire North converted to your doctrines and society, that does not make the South give up the slave."

One thing is certain; the South never will give the slave up until the North is converted to our doctrines. While the North regards the colored man as it now does, it would be a Herculean, a desperate enterprise for the South to undertake the emancipation of the slave. The North must make its peace with the "free colored man," before the South can emancipate the slave. It would not save the country, or free the slave, to enact the abolition of slavery by Congress, and by every State General Court in the Union, without a moral change in the white population towards the black, and the consequent revolution of feeling in the black towards the white man. Nothing can effect this change but the action and prevalence of anti-slavery societies and principles.

15. "You declaim of the evils of slavery, and tell stories of sufferings—but how are you going to help it? Your object—your means—what signifies all this talk while you do nothing? You have not emancipated a single slave."

Our object is the abolition of slavery, to wit, of *mastery*. Our means, and only means—all we need, and all we desire is, the converting our negro-hating and negro-scorning countrymen to our principles and our ranks. This we aim to effect in our ordi-

nary way of the age ; by association, preaching, the press and prayer. These are the principles and measures, which professors of religion and doctors of divinity "deprecate."

16. "We are all abolitionists at the North, and what would you have more of us?"

Just such abolitionists you are, we reply, as slaveholding desires, and requires you to be. Abolitionists, who, opposing and overthrowing every doctrine and system you really dislike, let slavery go unmolested ; who treat colored people among you as if they were made for slavery ; who discourage their moral and intellectual elevation all in your power ; who mob their friends among you for advocating their right to freedom ; who tear down schools erected for their instruction ; go South and hold slaves yourselves—are slaveholders to the extent of your occasion and convenience.

17. "The measures of the abolitionists tend only to perpetuate slavery."

Do they, indeed ! Then pray how comes it to pass, that those at the South, who defend slavery as the "corner stone of our republican edifice," and wish it perpetuated, are so much opposed to our measures ? How is it that the defenders of slavery are everywhere opposed to our measures, and declare that we ought to be put to death for them without benefit of clergy, if our measures tend to put off emancipation and to prolong the existence of slavery ! Ha, friend ?

18. "The slaveholders cannot emancipate, on account of the laws forbidding it."

In the same way individual robbers cannot cease to plunder on account of the rules and regulations of the land to which they belong. And did Daniel refuse to pray to the living God, when a law was made by the government under which he lived to prevent it ? Did the apostles refuse to preach, when forbidden by the magistrates ?

19. "But emancipation under such laws would be an injury to the slave."

Of that, the slave must be left to judge, because his is the right to judge. It is for him to say whether or not he will take shelter from a gang of wolves in the den of some very generous individual wolf.

20. "The interferences of abolitionists injure the slave, and make his condition worse."

Then it was bad before. But is it worse? It would be very convenient for slaveholders to say so. But when are tyrants most likely to be humane, generous, kind?—When no one questions their goodness or their rights, or, when narrowly watched, and laid under the strongest motives to show themselves as they have affirmed themselves to be?

21. "Abolition endangers the Union!"

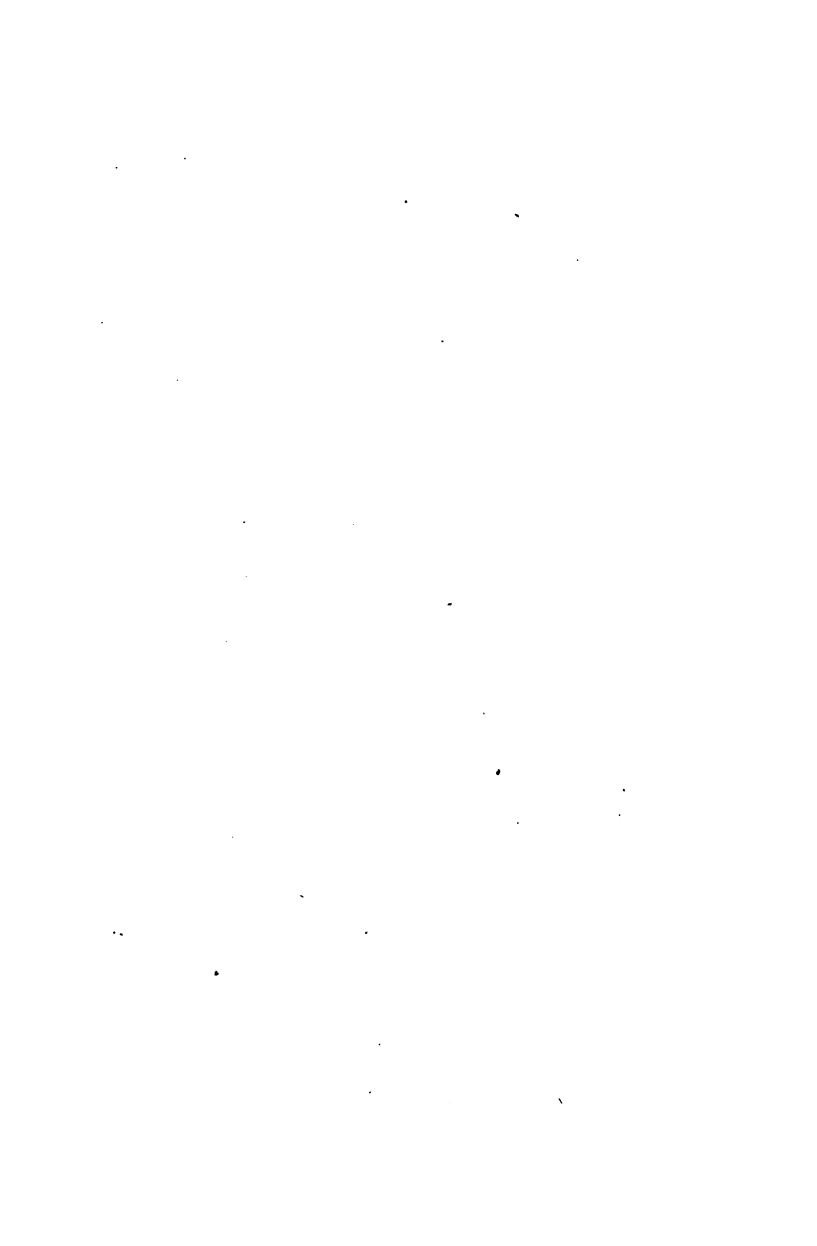
The threat of separation is almost out of date. The North is not urged to recede from the Union; the South would not gain anything by it. A dissolution of the Union would be the death blow to slavery.

22. "Your operations tend to excite insurrections."

This is a mistake. Insurrections are always excited by oppression, never by the hope of relief.

23. "They disturb the harmony of the churches."

Precisely that harmony which ought to be disturbed, viz: harmony of sin. And what is the spiritual condition of the church, or any branch of it which cannot bear the plain and faithful declaration of the whole counsel of God? We must not rebuke sin lest it disturb "the peace of the church!"



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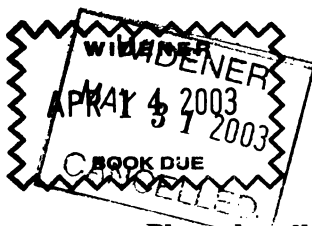
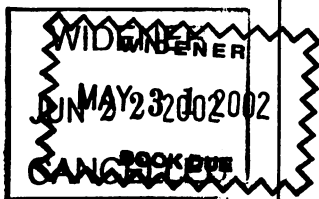




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